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THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN HYDERABAD

(A CONNECTED ACCOUNT)

Vol. III

(1885—1920)

Published by

**The Hyderabad State Committee appointed for
the compilation of a History of the Freedom Movement
in Hyderabad**

1957

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FOREWORD

I am very glad to see that the third volume of the *Freedom Struggle in Hyderabad* covering the period from 1885 to 1920 has been prepared by the Committee.

I congratulate the members of the Committee on the expeditious execution of the work entrusted to them. I am confident that the Committee would persevere in its efforts for compiling the connected account subsequent to 1920 also. I wish them all success in their further efforts.

B. RAMAKRISHNA RAO,
Chief Minister
(Govt. of Hyderabad).

‘ SHAH MANZIL,’
Hyderabad-Deccan,
October 31, 1956.

PROEM

It is a matter for gratification that the Research Scholars of the State Committee have completed the 3rd volume of the *Freedom Struggle in Hyderabad* dealing with the period 1885-1920. The Research Scholars have, during the past three years, been engaged in collecting material bearing on the freedom struggle in Hyderabad. They have consulted records available in the National Archives, New Delhi, and in the Central Records Office and other Government departments. They have also drawn upon the records available in the libraries, colleges and with important families in the State. While the scrutiny of the records, the co-ordination of the work of Research Scholars all over the country and the publication of volumes, dealing with the freedom struggle in India, would no doubt be done under the auspices of the Government of India with the help of experts in the field, the Hyderabad State Committee decided to bring out a connected account of the freedom struggle in Hyderabad so that the public in general would be acquainted with the work which was being done by the State Committee and also get a general idea of the vicissitudes through which the freedom struggle has passed in Hyderabad during the last 150 years. The purpose of these volumes has not been the production of research work. That work would be left to experts in the field. All that has been aimed at is the presentation of a general picture of the freedom struggle in the State for the benefit of the general public. Students of History will no doubt find in these volumes valuable source material for their study which will encourage them for further research in the field.

The State Committee during the last three years has tried to give publicity to the work which it was engaged upon. Contacts were made with a number of institutions and persons to get valuable material from them. Articles were written in the press in Marathi, Urdu, Kannada, Telugu and English on various aspects of the freedom struggle. Meetings were held where Research Scholars spoke on the history of the freedom struggle in Hyderabad. Radio talks were given on events like "1857". Valuable

contacts were established with the State Committees of Bombay and Madhya Pradesh when subjects of common interest were discussed in the light of the material available with those States. Scholars were invited to write on the subject and were rewarded when good essays were forthcoming.

Thus the State Committee has succeeded in drawing the attention of the general public to the history of freedom struggle in Hyderabad. The volumes published so far are also intended to draw further attention of scholars and students of history to the value of the work. When the history of the freedom struggle throughout India is written, there is no doubt that the State of Hyderabad will have an important place in it. It is hoped that the 3rd volume which is being published will be studied and appreciated by all those interested in the freedom struggle in our country.

K. S. VAIDYA, M.A., LL.B.,
President,
Hyderabad State Committee,
History of Freedom Movement in India,
and Speaker, Hyderabad Legislative Assembly,
(Govt. of Hyderabad).

Hyderabad-Deccan,
 October 29, 1956.

PREFACE

As Vice-Chairman of the Hyderabad State Committee and the Chairman of its Executive Committee I feel great pleasure to see that the Third Volume of *The Freedom Struggle in Hyderabad* is coming out so soon after the publication of the First and Second Volumes. The State Committee had been constituted to collect material bearing on the freedom struggle in Hyderabad. Since Hyderabad lost its independence in 1800 with the signing of the treaty of Subsidiary Alliance, the freedom struggle in Hyderabad may be said to have begun from that date. This freedom struggle came to an end in 1948. For purposes of convenience the period of 148 years was divided into four phases. The first phase started from 1800 and came to an end in 1857. The second phase covered the part played by Hyderabad in the War of Independence of 1857 A.D. and other activities till 1885, the year in which the Indian National Congress was born. The 3rd phase began with 1885 and came to an end in 1920. The 4th phase covers the period from 1920-1948.

The Third Volume now being published deals with the formative period in the history of Hyderabad. The growth of an educated middle class, the development of communications, the growth of the Press, the Swadeshi agitation and the springing up of a number of institutions like the Arya Samaj, the Ganesh Utsav, Schools, libraries, social and educational conferences, have all taken place during this period from 1885-1920.

The Research Scholars of the State Committee have drawn upon the rich collection of material available in the Central Records Office, the Home Department, public and private libraries and records available with prominent families, and as a result, have been able to give a connected account of this phase. Journalism in Hyderabad began early, when in 1880 Mohib Hussain had started his journal Muallim-e-Shafiq wherein the great Pan-Asian Missionary Jamal-ud-din Afghani wrote articles during his stay in Hyderabad. The journal *Hazar Dastan* started in 1883 by Syed Akqil was converted into a daily in 1885 and it must be said to be the first Urdu Daily in Hyderabad. The Press in Hyderabad both Urdu and English was openly critical

of Anglo-Indian policies in the country and did not hesitate to take up the case of Indians in the famous Ilbert Bill controversy. This independent and bold role of the Press in Hyderabad was one of the factors leading to public awakening in the State. The Arya Samaj, the Ganesh Utsav and the Swadeshi agitation gave rise to prominent institutions like the Vivek Vardhini High School, the Nutan Vidyalaya High School, the Krishna Devaraya Library, and the Marathi Grantha Sangrahalaya which collectively proved a good nucleus for the development of nationalist activities in later years. The strong interest which Hyderabad took in the political affairs of the Middle-Eastern countries was demonstrated by the Hejaz Railway Construction Fund, the Red Crescent Society and the raising of funds for the Khilafat agitation.

Furthermore, men like Mulla Abdul Qayum, Mohammed Murtuza, Sri Keshav Rao Koratkar, Sri Waman Naik, Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya were responsible for a great educational and social awakening in the State. Hyderabad was also drawn into an intimate connection with the political developments in the rest of the country. Late Smt. Sarojini Naidu, one of the foremost fighters in the cause of India's freedom, belonged to Hyderabad and this fact has played a great influence on shaping the public opinion in the State. Thus the period 1885-1920 is a crucial one in the history of Hyderabad.

In bringing out this volume the State Committee has achieved a major portion of the task allotted to it. Collection of material for the last phase of the history of the freedom struggle in Hyderabad is proceeding briskly and it is hoped that the Research Scholars of the State Committee will soon take up the work of giving a connected account of the last phase.

The State Committee is deeply grateful to the Chief Minister for the keen interest which he has taken in the publication of the volumes.

GOPAL RAO EKBOTE,
Vice-President,
Hyderabad State Committee,
History of Freedom Movement in India
and Education Minister,
Govt. of Hyderabad.

Hyderabad-Deccan,
October 25, 1956.

INTRODUCTION

The First Volume giving a connected account of the History of Freedom Struggle in Hyderabad covering the period from 1800-1857 was published by the State Committee on the 15th of August 1956. The 2nd volume dealing with the period from 1857-1885 was published on the 24th of October 1956. It is a matter for gratification that the 3rd volume covering the period from 1885-1920 is also being published by the State Committee. This period is characterised by movements which had a profound effect on the State of Hyderabad in the final phase of its history during 1920-1948. The Indian National Congress gained enthusiastic support in Hyderabad during this period. The effect of the Swadeshi agitation throughout India was also felt in Hyderabad during the period 1905-1914. This gave rise to a number of private educational institutions. The State was visited by revolutionaries like Balkrishna Hari Chapekar and Rao Saheb *alias* Baba Saheb who were very active in the State in the last decade of the 19th century. The death at the hands of a student of Aurangabad of Mr. Jackson, Collector of Nasik, spotlighted the activities of the revolutionaries in the State. Among constructive workers during this period, the names of Mulla Abdul Gayum, a staunch Congressman and the pioneer of Compulsory Education, Mohib Hussain, a journalist and social reformer, Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya, a scholar and social reformer, Sri Keshav Rao Koratkar, an educationist and social reformer, Sri Waman Naik, a great philanthropist and nationalist leader, stand out prominently. The establishment of the Osmania University was a landmark in the educational development of the State; the growth of the Press, which, in spite of restrictions, showed an independence of outlook is a bright feature of this period. The changes in the administrative structure which took place in 1893 leading to the establishment of the Legislative Council were noteworthy. Further changes were brought about in 1919, when an Executive Council was appointed for the governance of the State. The activities of the Arya Samaj and the institution of the Ganesh Utsav proved to be potent means for the growth of public awakening in the State. At the end of this period the Khilafat agitation which roused public opinion as never before, paved the way for a greater

interest in political and administrative reforms in the State. The Hejaz Railway Fund and the Red Crescent Society had already demonstrated a strong political consciousness prevailing in Hyderabad with regard to the happenings in the Middle-East. Thus the period under review is a formative one in the history of Hyderabad.

The Research Scholars of the State Committee have succeeded in collecting valuable material bearing on this period. The State Committee is grateful to all those who collaborated in its task by making available the required information in their possession.

P. SETU MADHAV RAO, M.A., I.A.S.,

Convener,

Hyderabad State Committee,

History of Freedom Movement in India,

and Secretary to Government, Education Department,

Government of Hyderabad.

Hyderabad-Deccan,

October 15, 1956.

CHAPTER I

PUBLIC OPINION ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CONGRESS

The birth of the Indian National Congress at the end of the year 1885 was bound to have a profound effect on the educated classes in Hyderabad, as in other parts of the country. The Hyderabad administration, dominated as it was by officers like Mehdi Ali Mohasin-ul-Mulk, Imad-ul-Mulk Bilgrami, Viqar-ul-Mulk and Mehdi Hasan Fateh Nawaz Jung, who had been influenced by the social and political thought of Sir Syed Ahmed, was highly critical of the Indian National Congress. Public opinion, on the other hand was sympathetic towards this new political awakening. Prominent among those, who supported the National Congress were Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya, Mulla Abdul Qayum, Ramchandra Pillay, Mohib Hussain, the editor of *Muallim-e-Shafiq* and the pioneer of social reform in Hyderabad and Syed Akhil, the editor of *Hazar Dastan*. The Urdu press was outstanding in its criticism against the British policies in India and in the Middle-East countries. It strongly supported Lord Ripon in the Ilbert Bill controversy and bitterly criticised the opposition to it engineered by vested British interests in India. It gave prominence to unfair and discriminatory treatment in which Englishmen, both officials and non-officials, indulged in India. It was thus natural that, when the Indian National Congress was established, public opinion should be favourably inclined to it, but the Hyderabad Government took up, as stated earlier a critical attitude against this situation. On the other hand every encouragement was given to the activities of Sir Syed Ahmed in the educational and political field.

In 1887 Mir Laik Ali Khan, Salar Jung II, Prime Minister of Hyderabad, resigned and was after a brief interval succeeded by Sir Asmanjah. Two important events which happened during his regime are worthy of note. The first was the replacement of Persian by Urdu as the language of administration. This measure of reform removed the artificial atmosphere created by the continuance of Persian as the Court language even when it had ceased to be so in the other parts of the country. The fillip, which Urdu

received by becoming the language of the administration, strongly encouraged the growth of education in the State and paved the way for higher education in Hyderabad. The second event during the time of Salar Jung II was the extension of the railway communication from Secunderabad to Warangal. This line was in 1888 extended further to Dornakal and Yellandu, the seat of coal mines, on one side and to Bezwada on the other side. There was now thus a through communication between Wadi on the Bombay-Madras line to Bezwada on the Madras-Calcutta line passing through the State

Soon after he took charge as Prime Minister, Sir Asman-jah was called upon to investigate charges against Abdul Huk Dilair Jung, the Home Secretary, who was connected with the affairs of what was known as 'The Deccan Mining Company'. Abdul Huk had, in sponsoring this Company in England, persuaded the Government of Hyderabad to purchase shares at a high rate. It turned out that these shares had belonged to him. As a result Abdul Huk was found guilty of having deceived his own Government and thereby making a large profit. The scandal connected with the concessionaires of Mining rights and 'The Deccan Mining Company' created a great sensation in England, and affairs were investigated by a Committee of the Parliament. The Hyderabad Government suspended the Home Secretary Abdul Huk and sent its representatives Mehdi Ali Mohasin-ul-Mulk, Political and Finance Secretary and Mehdi Hasan Fateh Nawaz Jung, the Chief Justice of the Hyderabad High Court to England to assist in the investigation and also to negotiate with 'The Deccan Mining Company' to settle its affairs in order. While Mehdi Ali Mohasin-ul-Mulk was in England he strongly criticised the Congress and advised the Muslims against the Congress. The following is an account of the opinions expressed by Mohasin-ul-Mulk on the Indian National Congress in August 1888:—

"The Central News sends the following account of an interview with the representative of the Government of the Nizam now in Brighton, on the subject of the proposed National Congress in India:—

'The Moulvi Mahdi Ali Mohsin Ool Moolk Bahadur, political and Financial Secretary of the Nizam's Government, now on a special mission to England, is well-known throughout India as one of the most distinguished Native in these few minutes to tell you very little of the many strange

officials in the peninsula. He served with high reputation for seventeen years under the Indian Government and left the service with the highest testimonials to accept an important appointment offered in Hyderabad by the late Sir Salar Jung in 1874. It is the testimony of men like Sir Richard Meade and Sir Charles Elliott that the reconstruction and reform of the revenue and fiscal service of the Nizam's dominions are mainly due to the integrity, capacity, and energy of Moulvi Mahdi Ali. In 1885 a very remarkable letter written by him on the attitude of the Mohammedans of India towards the then threatening advance of Russia was published. This letter called forth from Sir Mackenzie Wallace, writing for the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, a special letter of thanks, and made the name of Moulvi Mahdi Ali familiar to all who had been watching with attention the progress of events in India during the last five years. The attention of Moulvi Mahdi Ali having been called to a letter published on Monday touching a letter written by the Maharajah of Banaras in opposition to the assembling of an Indian National Congress, he was asked with whom this movement for the National Congress in India originated. "It originated," he said, "with the so-called Baboo, or educated Bengalee. The first Congress was presided over by Dadabhai Naoroji, an able man, and it was made up chiefly of Bengalees and Parsees. I paid little attention to the subject when first mooted, my time being fully occupied with the affairs of the Native State which I have the honour to serve. I first seriously considered it when the Congress met last year at Madras. For this, there were two reasons. One was the interest taken in it by a distinguished public servant in India, Mr. Allan O. Hume, one of my oldest friends and instructors, who took me by the hand as a boy when I first entered the Indian Service, and to whom I owe much gratitude and affection. Mr. Hume was devoted to the idea of a Congress, and spent four months in Madras. The presiding officer of the Congress also was an old personal friend of mine, a highly-educated man, Budrooddeen Tyabjee of Bombay. He made a striking address before the Congress, which attracted wide attention, and I wrote him a friendly letter, congratulating him on its ability and its success. In reply, he wrote, asking my opinion as to the idea of a Congress itself. This was nine months ago, and I have not yet replied to his letter. This will show you, perhaps, that I have not enthusiastically adopted the idea of a Congress. The question as to whether such a Congress is

so, then what would not happen to us here were we mad advisable has, in my judgment, first to be settled. I do not wish to be hasty in coming to a decision on that point, for I am also on most intimate terms of friendship with Sir Syed Ahmed, whom I have always supported in the great reformatory work he is doing for the benefit of my people, the Mussulmans, and Sir Syed by no means approves of a Congress. I am sure both Mr. Hume and Sir Syed Ahmed are equally honest and equally devoted to the cause of order and of progress in India; and when two such men differ so widely as to the wisdom and timeliness of the proposed National Congress, I think it right to reserve my final opinion till I can go over the whole matter with them face to face, and find out what reasons for or against the project each has to give. As at present advised, however, I will frankly say that my own predisposition is against it. I cannot think it a thing to be desired for India in general or for the Mussulmans of India in particular. I do not believe India is really ready for it. Some of the Indian populations are much in advance of others in education and training for public affairs. Many of the Bengalees in particular are, perhaps, advanced enough to deal with the grave matters which would come before a National Congress, sagaciously and wisely, but certainly the people of India in general are not in that condition. Is it not better to await a further development of the education and the capacity of the Indian people before sending them to take action in such a Congress on subjects about which they cannot possibly now be well advised or well informed? I have a great respect for the educated Bengalees. I believe them, indeed, to be quite loyal to the British Government, but whether their loyalty is according to wisdom in this matter is another question. Perhaps they think the masses of the people are as enlightened as themselves, which is hardly the case. They are, I fear, in too great a hurry. They certainly know next to nothing of the less educated military class among the Mussulmans. They are not soldiers themselves, and they do not understand the military class. If they could succeed in impressing the Mussulman population with the belief that there are very great defects in the British system of governing India, what would be the result? Not to produce an intelligent desire for a reasonable reform of anything that may be wrong in the Government system, such a desire as the educated Bengalees themselves would feel. Not at all. It would only produce a sullen disposition on the part of the military class to distrust the Government, and desire to see it overthrown.

This would be a bad thing in itself, and though it might do no great harm to-day or tomorrow, while all is peaceful, who can say what might happen from it were India suddenly exposed to a great war or to an attack by a foreign enemy? Where you now have honest, simple loyalty to the Government among the military classes, you would then have a body of dangerous discontent, all the more dangerous because vague and not intelligent. All Mussulmans who know the history of the world and of their own religion know that the Mussulmans of India are better off to-day under the British Government than are the Mussulmans of Egypt, of Turkey, of Afghanistan, and they know that this is due to the general honesty, firmness, and justice of the British rule. I have frankly stated these views of mine to one of the ablest native friends of this Congress now in England, so I see no objection to stating them to you as you ask me for them. If the day of danger ever comes to England in India upon whom can England rely? Not upon the timid Baboo with his clever pen, but upon the Mussalman, Rajpoot or Pathan with his loyal sword. I don't think it well to be in too great a hurry to disturb the mind of my own people with questions which they are not yet fully prepared to understand."—*Morning Post*, August 16.'"¹

In his interview with Mr. Gladstone which Mohsin-ul-Mulk had in September, 1888, during his stay in England, he expressed the following views:—

"On the subject of the National Congress Mr. Gladstone said he had only imperfect information, and consequently had some hesitation in discussing this subject; but, so far as he remembered, the questions involved consisted mainly of reform of the marriage laws and prohibition of early marriages, matters chiefly affecting Hindoos. Mehdi Ali explained that his co-religionists, as a body, had not yet joined the Congress movement, preferring to allow a Government which had done so much for them and their religion to proceed with its reforms without interference or pressure by political agitation, adding that there was, no doubt, an advantage in educated natives coming forward to give their opinions on points arising in the government of the country; but, on the other hand, there was some danger that the vast masses of the population of India, who were to a great extent uneducated and unable to comprehend administrative questions, would regard public animadversions upon the

1. *Hyderabad Affairs*, pp. 387-388.

conduct of the Government as evidence of inefficiency and weakness, which it was highly undesirable to disseminate.”¹

Again on his return to India Mohsin-ul-Mulk delivered a speech on 12th November, 1888, at the Hyderabad Club, the report of which is as follows:—

“*Hyderabad and National Congress*—An Indian correspondent sends us a translation of the speech referred to in our Bombay despatch. It was delivered at Hyderabad on the 12th of November, by Nawab Mahdi Ali and gives an interesting summary of the effect upon an unusually able and upright Mussalman statesman of his observations in Europe, as well as of the feeling with which the strongest native races of India regard the scheme of a National Congress. At a banquet given at the Hyderabad Club, November 12, in honour of his return, replying to the toast of his health, Nawab Mahdi Ali said:—

‘Gentlemen,—It is not easy for me to find expression in words for my feelings this evening, nor can I fitly acknowledge the many kind and flattering expressions which have fallen from Major Gough. At all times a reception so kind as this must have been extremely gratifying to me, but on this occasion when returning to you all, my friends, from a first visit to the great world beyond the seas, I recognise that moments perhaps the happiest I have ever known are closing for me an experience of surpassing interest. And now, as I am an officer growing old in the service of His Highness the Nizam, you will doubtless, wish me to tell you something of the events of the past six months—what I have seen in that world over the great waters, and what are the more striking and visible contrasts between the civilizations of the East and those of the West. One very strong impression which I wish to convey to you is this that if you should visit Western Europe, to observe the signs of a perpetual progress, and of a rapid adaptability to modern improvements, then truly you will find all this and much more, and attractive indeed to the visitor must be that boundless prospect of growth and change. And, further, it is very good to see the wealth and the magnificence everywhere of those Western societies, and still more the energy displayed there by the wealthy classes, who devote themselves to arts, to politics, to literature, or to country pursuits, not less steadily than if hard work was a necessity to them. In this way, and in this way only, are the European aristocracies able to justify in these days the privileges of

1. *Hyderabad Affairs*, Vol. IX, p. 394.

their position against the advances of the new Democracy. All these evidences of changes now taking place appear to me very important, and in this direction valuable to us are the teachings of Europe, but if, on the other hand, the results of Government and social progress are to be estimated rather by the general happiness of the people governed than by signs of wealth or the spectacle of great armies ready for the field, then indeed I should be slow to admit that Europe can teach us any lessons, for, so far from widespread happiness, there is the appearance of a poverty more pinching and of misery more distressing in a single quarter of London than could be found in all the Deccan—yes, I believe, I might safely say, more than in all India. For here at least the poorest man can enjoy the sunshine, while there the richest man cannot buy happiness, when for weeks together the sun is never seen; and thus it happens, no doubt, that while many Englishmen are content to spend the best years of their lives here, not one of our race would be able to endure any long removal to England. But if in England I failed to see that life is to the poor man so good a thing as it is with us, yet I was much struck with the evidence on all sides of England's power. To get an idea of the resources of England and where her real strength lies, you must leave London and go into the great manufacturing districts of Lancashire and the North. There, indeed, you will at once find those sources of national strength which have sent England to India and to all parts of the world, and have made her what she is. My friends, we often think of our population of 250,000,000; and we marvel when we contrast it with the 30,000,000 or so who inhabit England; but the mere comparison contained in these figures is worthless. England's real power is in that wonderful machinery which I was privileged to see at Manchester and elsewhere. What are the muscles and sinews of mere men—men who require to eat and sleep, and who a little later must die, when weighed in the scales against those gigantic men of steel and iron, who need neither food nor rest, but who continue at all times and in all climate to work as the patient bondslaves of the British nation. So you see that behind the 30,000,000 in England there is this immense reserve force of iron men, equivalent, perhaps, to 200,000,000 more, a vast fighting army, encumbered by neither women nor children. This is the real value and significance of England's wealth, which finds no true expression in the palaces and carriages of the great nobles in London, but must be looked for in her provincial cities. And now, my friends, I am able either of great foreign enemies or of one another—if this is

impressions and ideas that necessarily follow after a first visit to England. During the past six months I have learned much, and some things also it was proper to unlearn; and very much, also, I have observed which brings a conviction of the advantages we possess over the European nations. It appears to me that on the Continent, and even in England, there are many symptoms which show that the masses of the people are less contented than with us, because they are less happy than here, and that there the discontent admits remedy. Here, in Hyderabad, surrounded as we are on all sides by the power of the greatest nation on the globe, we are entirely secure from revolutionary troubles both from within and without; assuredly this cannot be said of any one nation in Europe to-day no, not one. The last view I had of Europe was of the great volcano opposite the city of Naples, its top wreathed in smoke reflecting ruddily the fierce fires below the surface. And when I remembered that two days later the new German Emperor, the greatest captain of Europe, was coming there to Naples, I was reminded very forcibly that there are to-day volcanic forces more active and more inevitable than those which two thousand years ago destroyed an earlier civilisation under the overflow from Vesuvius. So until Europe has herself been able to solve these great problems which are agitating her, and which threaten a widespread destruction, let us continue as now to disregard the counsels of those who would recommend us in India to embrace revolutionary theories of what is called representative government. That form of Government, even in England, affords little satisfaction to what is wisest and best in the community. It is not too much to say that in the Europe of to-day those nations whose systems of government are most modernised are the very nations whose conditions are found to be most critical, and where even the continuance of national life is most precarious. England alone, relying on the wise arrangements of her statesmen hundreds of years since dead, promises to stand safely on the threshold of a new world, and to live to witness the new order of things. When that future has declared itself, then indeed our time of rearrangement may have come. It has not come yet. Russia is to-day agitated by a demand for a National Congress; Russia is but one nation. We in India are many distinct nations, differing in customs, in caste, and in creeds. If it is true that these developments even in Russia threaten to destroy her unity and to leave her a little later a number of disconnected States, at the mercy either of great foreign enemies or of one another—if this is so, then what would not happen to us here were we mad

enough to listen to similar teaching ? When the various nations of Europe—the Russians, the French, the Germans, and the English—have shown us the spectacle of a Congress in which they can all meet and legislate, then, and not till then, may Mussulmans and Sikhs, and fighting Pathans, mingle at Allahabad or Madras in peaceful assembly with Bengalis and Mahrattas. If indeed the other people of India are now ready for this Congress project, I make bold to say we Mohammedans are not. Before we commence to make laws for others, let us show that all is complete within our own boundaries. Have we got so much unemployed ability here, that we can send delegates to spend their lives at distant Congress centres? Who will go from here on any such errand? No, my friends, what I have this year seen of Islam elsewhere suggests to me quite other needs. Who are the chosen Ambassadors of the Sultan and the Shah to London? Rustem, the Italian, and Malcolm, the Armenian, Christians both! Is this as it should be? And where now are the Standards of Omar? or what encouragement may we derive from the position of Egypt? When I think on these things and the lessons they contain, then I recognise that here in Hyderabad alone, unshadowed by foreign encroachments, Islam may yet revive, and something of our ancient glories may be ours. And our duty is to our own nation, here around our own shrines.’ *Morning Post*, December 3.”¹

While, as noted above, the officers of Hyderabad were criticising the Congress, there were others who supported this institution. Mulla Abdul Qayum was among these sympathisers of the Congress. He was born in 1858 in Madras. He had his education in Hyderabad and in Mirzapur in U.P. He entered government service in 1875 and began to take an active interest in public affairs. Early in his life he had come into contact with Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya and was one of those who took a leading part in what is known as the “Chanda Railway Scheme Agitation”. After the birth of the Congress he wrote articles in support of that body in the local paper *Safir-e-Deccan*. He also got a number of copies of the pamphlet entitled “A Spirited Defence of the Congress” which Pandit Ayodhya-nath Kunzru had issued in reply to the criticism levelled by Sir Syed Ahmed and his supporters against the Congress. These were widely distributed by Mulla Abdul Qayum and

1. *Hyderabad Affairs*, Vol. IX pp. 422-424.

Sharful Huq. For these activities the Government of Hyderabad issued a strong warning to Mulla Abdul Qayum on 29th September, 1888. The English translation of the warning letter is reproduced below:—

“ Office of the Political & Financial Minister.

No. Main (10828)

22nd Moharrum 1388 H.

Misc: (1616)

29th September, 1888

From:—

Nawab Intesar Jung Bahadur,
Offg. Secretary,
Political & Financial,
Hyderabad-Dn.

To

Mulla Abdul Qayum Saheb,
Deputy Commissioner,
Inam,
Southern Division.

I am directed by the Minister to state with reference to the articles which you have been writing in the “Safir-e-Deccan” in support of the National Congress, that the policy of the Government is against the National Congress and in support of the “Patriotic Association”. It is hoped that you and your colleagues among the officials referred to in the newspaper “Safir-e-Deccan” will desist from their aims and objects. The pamphlets in support of the National Congress which you, it is heard, have obtained from Allahabad should be deposited by you with the Government forthwith.

Copy to Moulavi Sharf-ul-Huq, Officiating Superintendent, Excise Department, Secunderabad, with a similar direction that he should desist from the propagation of the pamphlets and deposit the undistributed ones with the Government.

It need not be stated that the activities of government officers in opposition to government policies is against general propriety.

(Sd.) Illegible.

Assistant Secretary.”¹

1. From files preserved in the Central Records Office, Hyderabad-Dn.

But Mulla Abdul Qayum continued his activities and till the time of his death in 1906 attended many of the sessions of the Congress. The sympathy which the Indian National Congress attracted from the educated classes in Hyderabad is illustrated by an account of the public meeting held in Secunderabad in October 1888 given below:—

“Small committees were formed in October, 1888 and bills and placards for holding a meeting were circulated. It also found publicity in the Local Press. One such reads:

“The National Congress.—We are requested to intimate that a public meeting will be held on behalf of this institution, opposite the Head Police Station in Secunderabad, at 5 p.m. on Sunday next, the 21st instant. Notices will be issued in English, Urdu and Telugu by the Committees, and all the loyal subjects of Her Most Gracious Majesty, the Queen Empress, are cordially invited to attend.” (*Vide The Hyderabad Record*, dated 19th October, 1888.)

In Hyderabad, people were trying to hold a meeting at Chaderghat for this purpose. The paper (*The Hyderabad Record*) writes,

“We understand that it is in contemplation to hold a meeting in Chaderghat to discuss the aims and objects of the Congress.

A local vernacular paper says that the Resident will be asked to allow the meeting to be held. It is true that the Inspector General of Police of His Highness the Nizam's Dominions on being asked in the Bombay High Court, the other day what he meant by the ‘Local Government’ replied ‘The Residency’, but we have yet to learn that it is necessary to obtain the Resident's sanction before a public meeting of citizens can be convened in this State.”

In accordance with a notice previously circulated (*Vide The Hyderabad Record*, dated 19th Oct., 1888) “A meeting in connection with this movement was held last evening at Secunderabad opposite the Head Police Station. A large *shamiana* was erected, but the greater portion of the audience was accommodated outside of it. The number assembled was close upon 2,000 and perfect order was maintained throughout the proceedings. The meeting was decidedly a representative one. Among those who were present were

Messrs. C. Ramachandra Pillay, Pleader, Edalji Soorabji Chenoy, Haji Sajjan Lall, Doondigalla Kistnamah, Bezonji Aderji, Pleader, Chirconda Ramachandriah, Ganga Bhissham, Mirza Doordi, Chirconda Rangiah, Gopthy Lutchmiah, Venugopal Pillay, Vedyal Vurana, Ismail Saheb, Meerwanji Meah, Syedu Meah, Hussain Khan Saheb Hakim Sujjam Saheb, Jaganathji of Bunhlal & Co., (Bankers), Haji Shaik Adam, Haji Moosa, Mooteal Ramanna, Haji Kajah Meah, Dr. Nabi Khan, etc.

On the motion of Mr. Edulji Soorabji Chenoy, seconded by Ramachandra Pillay, Mr. B. Krishna Iyengar, solicitor of the Madras High Court, and a member of the Residency Local Fund Board was voted to the Chair.

Mr. Krishna Iyengar after taking the chair spoke to the following effect:—

He was glad that so many had come to attend this meeting, and had done him the honour to vote him to the chair. He, however, had not come prepared for the occasion and felt diffident to discharge the duties that now devolved upon him, especially as he had not been accustomed to address a large audience as the one before him. He said that the object of the present meeting was to express their sympathy and lend their support to the national movement that was now taking place under the name of the Indian National Congress, whose aims and objects were at this time discussed in every part of India, and in much larger meetings than the present. He need hardly inform the audience that the motto of this National Congress was loyalty to the Queen-Empress of India, and its watch-word progress. (Cheers) 'Would you,' he asked, 'call this large and splendid meeting of the loyal subjects of the Queen Empress, who came to support this movement Disloyalty? No!' The meeting had already been commenced so late and he would not detain it by any further remarks of his own, but would call upon other speakers to address it.

Mr. Mootial Ramanna next stepped forward and read a Telugu address. He was followed by Hari Krishna Sastry Pandit, who read the second Telugu address. The third address was delivered by Syed Mea Saheb in Urdu. Then came Mr. Ramachandra Pillay who in giving a short history of the rise and the progress of this Congress Movement, said that some opposition was started lately by some of the educated classes who had charged the members who composed

the Congress with being imbued with republican views and with intent to oppose the Government. These accusers forgot that in the Hindu and Mohammedan sacred books the sovereign was spoken of as the incarnation of the Almighty and it was therefore mischievous to attribute to the members of the Congress such views and such intention of opposition. But having largely benefited by Western Education which the British Government in its unbounded generosity and goodwill towards its subject races had placed within their reach, he said, he would simply request the Government to confer upon them a large share of their rights and privileges which had been promised to them and would leave it to Government either to grant them or withhold them from the people. The Queen Empress as the mother of Her Indian subjects would only be too happy to hear their cries and supply their wants, just as the mother would suckle the babe that cries for milk.

The letter published by Syed Hussain Bilgrami in the Secunderabad paper (*The Deccan Times*) was then touched upon. Mr. Ramchandra Pillay could not agree with that gentleman when he insinuated that because the Hindus offered to enrol themselves as volunteers to assist Government in defending their country and repelling foreign invasion, they were disloyal. Mr. Pillay pointed out how *The Deccan Times* had changed front, in that once it was for the Congress Movement and in the next breath it decried it and even went so far as to call forth, or anticipate an opposition meeting and prophesied a failure for the present meeting. He then referred to the partisanship of His Highness's Government which had supported Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, and had forwarded a cheque to patronise the association which that gentleman headed. He said that till then the Nizam's Government was quite catholic in the distribution of its favours and support, but the reason for its deviation from this path was not far to see, seeing who composed the present Government of His Highness. History, he informed his audience, recorded that all reforms in the past had invariably met with opposition and that what the association of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan might do, instead of thwarting the aims and objects of the Congress, would most assuredly aid its development and prove advantageous to it in the end. After Mr. Ramachandra Pillay sat down, Mr. Harikrishna Sastry addressed the meeting in Telugu. He was followed by Mr. Bazonji Aderji, Pleader, who made a very effective and eloquent

speech. He combated the objection raised against the Congress to the effect that it was not a representative one, and showed how many different professions were represented in the last Congress held at Madras. The reception accorded to the delegates by Lords Dufferin and Connemara when the Congress was held at Calcutta and Madras was instanced by him to show that the representatives of the British Government did not look upon the movement as one subversive of good government. The demands made by the Congress were pronounced in all influential quarters as being very moderate and were acquiesced in by all sections of politicians in England and in India. The British Government would do well to grant immediately these demands as gracious favours, whereas if longer delayed, it would be compelled to grant them as a matter of necessity, which it could avoid.

Mr. Ramchandra Pillay was now called to explain to the audience what had transpired at the meeting, which he did in Urdu. The Chairman then asked the meeting to submit its proposals.

(1) It was then proposed by Mr. Edulji Chenoy, seconded by Mr. Haji Khwaja Meah, that the meeting record its sympathy with the Indian National Congress. The proposal was carried unanimously.

(2) It was proposed by Mr. Haji Sajjan Lall, seconded by Mr. Krishna Iyengar, that all should subscribe at the uniform rate of one rupee each to meet the expenses of the Congress.

(3) It was proposed by Mr. Kameshwar Rao, seconded by Mr. Iyaswamy Achary, that the following gentlemen be sent as delegates to Allahabad:—Messrs. Haji Sajjan Lall, Mohomed Akram, Sheik Adam, Ramanuja Moodelliar, Ramachandra Pillay, Gungabhishem and Bezoni Aderji.

All the above proposals were supported without a discussion.

Mr. Vadanta Desigachariar read a Sanskrit verse on the benefits enjoyed under the reign of Her Majesty.

The Chairman made a final speech and called for three cheers for Her Majesty which was most enthusiastically responded to.

A vote of thanks was next proposed by Mr. Ramchandra Pillay to the Chairman, and the National Anthem having been struck up, the interesting meeting came to a close.”¹

Mr. Eardly Norton delivered a lecture on “The Indian National Congress” in Mahboob College, Secunderabad, on 23rd September, 1889, and Mr. Ghulam Dastagir presided over it. In the annals of Secunderabad this day would ever remain memorable.

1. From an article entitled “The Indian National Congress — A Meeting in Secunderabd (1888) by K. Sajan Lal.

CHAPTER II

THE PRESS IN HYDERABAD (1890-1891)

Opinions in Hyderabad continued to be sharply divided between those who were in favour of the Congress and those against the organization. Broadly speaking, officials belonging to the group of Mohsin-ul-Mulk and others were opposed to the Congress while officers like Mulla Abdul Qayum and Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya, the press and the general public were in favour of this institution. Ghulam Dastagir has referred to one incident in this connection in the following words:—

“In imitation of the Government of India, the Native States in general and the Government of the Nizam in particular were strongly against the Congress. At this time (*i.e.*, in 1889) a meeting of the supporters of the National Congress was held in Secunderabad. The lecturer was Mr. Norton, Bar-at-law. The sponsors of the meeting requested me to be the chairman to which I agreed. The result was that many persons began to express their displeasure against me in various ways. The Anti-Congress element considers itself as backward and desires to fight against the more powerful group fearing that the educated class would prevail upon them and they consider the activities of this advanced class as rebellion against the Government.”¹

A similar sympathy towards the Congress was expressed by Rev. Mr. Gilder of the Chaderghat Methodist Episcopal Church at the end of 1889:—

“You will be glad to hear that in the Rev. Mr. Gilder of the Chadarghat Methodist Episcopal Church we have got a well-wisher of the Indian National Congress movement. Alluding to *The Pioneer's* articles on “Missionaries and Politics” he writes thus to me:—

‘With reference to “Missionaries and Politics” I believe every Christian Missionary in India ought to be in the vanguard in all things relating to the social or politico-social as well as moral advancement of the people. There are politics and politics; and inasmuch as in many of the

1. Autobiography of Ghulam Dastgir, p. 129.

political reforms called for to-day, there are bound up many and weighty social problems which demand a satisfactory solution in the interests of the people of India and which when solved will expedite political reforms, I am of opinion that Missionaries are not guilty of meddling in matters beyond their concern when they extend practical sympathy to the National Congress. My own sympathies are very largely with the Congress.' ”¹

The public life in Hyderabad was slowly coming forward and expressing itself in various fields. By this time a class of pleaders had come into existence since the examinations for pleadership were started for the first time in 1883. Legal talent was also attracted from outside the State and we hear the names of Ramchandra Pillay and Barrister Rudra, who started practising in the courts of Hyderabad and Secunderabad at this time. A number of societies and clubs had been started and were contributing to the shaping of public opinion. The Young Men's Improvement Society was established on 26th Februray, 1879, in Chaderghat. The Society moved into its own premises on 8th August, 1886. It maintained a reading-room, a library and used to arrange lectures of prominent people.

The Theosophical Society was established on 26th December, 1882 by Ramaswamy Iyer in Chaderghat. It secured the patronage of officers like Pestonji and Jhangirji. The Society Hall was constructed and declared open on 7th January, 1906, by Mrs. Anne Besant. This Society was a centre of discussions on religious and cultural matters and attracted the elite of the city.

The Albert Reading Room, Secunderabad, the Malwala Sabha in the city and the Hindoo Social Club, Chaderghat, were also beginning to take part in public affairs. Due to men like Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya, Barrister Rudra and Ramchandra Pillay interest in Public matters was quickened. Criticism of the administration began to appear at this time both in the press and on the platform. This criticism was resented by the official world who attributed these activities to outsiders. This cleavage is brought out effectively in the following extract:—

“THE HINDUS AND THE NIZAM'S GOVERNMENT. It is marvellous how public opinion is being educated, shaped

1. *Hyderabad in 1890-91*, pp. 51-52.

and formed into a factor for the good of the country, by the influence of the Madrasi and the Bengali. Those here who, in season and out of season, thunder their anathemas against these for their 'meddlesomeness' and 'intellectual dishonesty' have little honesty to perceive the real good that they are doing to Hyderabad. And those in power find it little convenient or to their advantage to confess it. But the fact remains that but for the advanced Madrasi and the Bengali the wishes and feelings of the people might have been to-day as much a sealed-book to those at the helm of affairs as they were a few years ago."¹

The Hindoo Social Club, Chaderghat had Raja Murli Manohar Bahadur as the President and Mr. B Krishna Iyengar as the Vice-President. The proceedings of a meeting held in this club will give an idea of the active interest which was being taken by the public in the administrative measures of the Government:—

"The "gross injustice" of the appointment of a committee of *orthodox* and *ill-informed* men to decide, from a religious point of view, whether Hindu students could cross the "kala pani" and of the condition imposed by the Government which requires of a student good knowledge of Persian and Urdu to offer himself as a candidate for the Government scholarship and which prevents many a promising Hyderabad youth from taking advantage of the opportunity afforded of proceeding to England for purposes of education is felt strongly and widely here. And the public are bestirring themselves to memorialise the Government with regard to the matter. A meeting of the Chaderghat Social Club was held last night to consider the proposition brought forward by one of its members, Mr. Krishnamachari, B.A., B.L., viz., that the Government be memorialized in the matter of sending Hindu students to England for purposes of education. It was a large gathering fully representative of the cult and intelligence of the Hindu portion of the population of the place. In the absence of Rajah Murli Manohur Bahadur, the President, Mr. B. Krishna Iyengar, Vice-President of the "Club", occupied the chair.

The Chairman by way of explaining the object of the meeting said: He was sure that all present missed the presence amidst them of the Rajah Murli Manohur Bahadur,

1. *Hyderabad in 1890-91*, p. 9.

the President. He was sorry that the Rajah was not there where he was to advise them with regard to the proposition that had brought them together, and by his words throw the weight of his influence as a member of one of the oldest and noblest Hindu families in the State into the scale against any possible opposition in high places. But this consoled him, that the Rajah had been in the Club's room a few hours previously, and called away by urgent business elsewhere, left assurance of his sympathy with the object of the meeting and as such would no doubt subscribe his name to the memorial that might be voted to be submitted to the Government by the meeting. Then reading out Mr. Krishnamachari's proposition, he continued: He knew every one would admit that the advantages accruing from a sojourn, however short, in the land of the most enlightened people on the face of the earth, the English, in the land of those whom Providence had put in-charge of the destinies of India were very great. If a short sojourn by reason of giving an insight into the thoughts and feelings of the West was so advantageous, how much more must it be when made with the object of an educational training there? Whether the Shastras allowed of Hindus crossing the seas or not, he could not say. Opinions were divided upon the point, the same passages in the Shastras were differently construed. But this he could say, the times in which we were living were not the same as those in which our ancestors had lived, that we could not, with impunity, remain stationary while all the rest of the world was moving, that the wave of enlightenment, of advanced thought was growing bigger and bigger day by day, that the tide was increasing in volume and to stem it back would be attended with grave consequences. As to antagonism to Hindus going to England, it was not as strong as it had been; as time advanced it grew weaker. The caste people, even Brahmins, were now, in a way of course, willing to admit their England-returned brethren back into caste as evidenced in the case of the Brahmin Barrister in Bangalore. This itself showed that belief and prejudice however strongly grounded must give way to the influences of time and circumstances. The major portion of the population in the Nizam's Dominions was Hindu and Government should be memorialised to show consideration to the claims of this portion, to encourage them educationally and in other ways, to give them opportunities of being serviceable to the State, such opportunities as those of proceeding to England in view to education. With these words,

he called upon Mr. Krishnamachari to "move" his proposition.

Mr. V. Krishnamachari, B.A., B.L., said: The chairman had said all that he might have said on the important question of Hindus making sea-voyage. And he would not weary the meeting with any repetition. The Nizam's Government had sanctioned a number of scholarships for the benefit of Hyderabad youth desirous of prosecuting their studies in England. And they had entrusted the decisions of the question of Hindus going to England to a number of men very orthodox and as such adverse to Hindus going to England. This was a mistake and it needed to be corrected. Then he moved that the Nizam's Government be memorialized in the matter of sending Hindu students to England for purposes of education.

Mr. P. Ramchandra Pillay, a member of the local bar, rising to second the proposition, said: He had been for many years resident in Secunderabad, in His Highness the Nizam's Dominions, and had always taken interest in things affecting the welfare of the people. Not being a high functionary in the State, he had not done much. But whatever it had been possible for him to do he had not left undone. Recently he had advised a Hindu lad of his acquaintance to put in his application for being permitted to compete for one of the scholarships established by the Government for enabling deserving Hyderabad youth to prosecute their studies in England. The advice had been carried out but the application had been rejected on the score of the applicant's not knowing Persian and Urdu. Now, he could not for the life of him understand how a knowledge of Persian and Urdu could be of any help to students in their studies in England. No doubt a knowledge of Persian and Urdu was necessary for those who were to serve the Nizam's Government; but then, the knowledge could be acquired by students on their return from England. The selected candidates for the British Indian Civil Service were made to study the Vernaculars of the Districts to which they wished to be appointed during their probationary term of office. Why should not His Highness's Government do a similar thing? The bringing into existence a committee to decide whether Hindus could, religiously speaking, cross the "Black waters" was not called for. And the appointment of purely orthodox men on it, gave room for the suspicion that the

Government had prejudged the case, had made up its mind not to allow the Hindus to profit by the opportunities, afforded by the scholarships, of going to England. An impression had been gaining ground that those in power were opposed to the interests of the Hindus. And this but tended to strengthen this impression. In the memorial to be submitted to the Government it should be stated in clear, unmistakable terms that it would do well, that it would be to its interest, to act so as to remove this impression. In this connection, he might say a word or two about the statement made by the Nawab Intesar Jung with reference to the account of the interview that a friend had had the courage to have with the Nawab on behalf of the "Hindu" viz., that there was apathy on the part of the Hindus to avail themselves of the opportunities given them of educating themselves to a high standard. The Nawab had referred, in exemplification of the statement, to the fact that there were few Hindus in the higher grades of the Pleader's service. He (the speaker) had moved freely with all classes of Hindus in the State, and could state, without the least fear of contradiction, that there was many a Hindu who could hold his own against the Moslem in the higher grades of pleader's calling. But how Hindus in no way inferior to their Mahomedan competitors failed to secure a pass in the examinations admitting them to these grades was a mystery to him as to every one else. The mystery could not mean any apathy on the part of the Hindus to avail themselves of the opportunities given them of educating themselves to a higher standard.

Mr. Sadagopachari, M.A., in supporting the proposition said that the Government should be asked to throw the scholarships open to the Hindus as well as to the Mahomedans.

Then Mr. P. Veeraraghavalu Naidu, a non-member, being permitted by the Chairman to speak on the occasion, said: There was no necessity for asking the Government in the memorial to throw the scholarships open to the Hindus. The Government notification published in the Jareeda a few months previously threw them open to all bona fide Hyderabadies, irrespective of caste or creed. And it was thought that Hindu lads might compete for the scholarships as well as other religionists which led those in power to bring into existence a committee to decide whether, from a religious

point of view, Hindus could cross the seas—ostensibly to provide against the impression that the Government was doing anything arbitrarily without consulting the people concerned. So then, our object, in memorializing the Government, should be to prevent them from being solely guided by the opinions of the orthodox men on the committee.

Then the proposition being put to the vote, was carried *nem. con.* A committee was formed of Messrs. Krishna Iyengar, Ramachandra Pillai, Krishnamachari and Ramachundra Lakshman, to draw up a memorial to the Government making mention of the points dwelt upon by the different speakers.”¹

The Chaderghat Social Club also sent a Memorandum on 2nd October, 1890 to the Governor General praying that the age of consent be raised to 14 years.

The activities of the Malwala Sabha are referred to as follows:—

“The Malwala Sabha which owes its existence to the Rajah Murli Manohur Bahadur is doing a lot of good work in the City. One of its essential objects seems to be to preach to the people on the advantages of education and thus to clear the path of all prejudices. To judge by the large number of men present at a meeting of the “Sabha” I had the pleasure of attending sometime ago, the loud applause that the lecturer of the evening, the Rajah Murli Manohur Bahadur, was every now and then greeted with by them—the weekly lectures of the Sabha are very much appreciated in the city. Mrs. Shevanti Bai Trimbak Canaran, one of the lady delegates to the Bombay Congress—on a short visit here—addressed one of the meetings of this Association recently on “Female Education”. I wish the “Sabha” all success.”²

In 1889 Barrister Rudra came to Hyderabad and started his practice in the courts of Hyderabad and Secunderabad. For sometime he was popular in the official circles, but his remarks in the *Gribble versus Gallagar Case*, to wit, “It is a well-known fact that the justice in Hyderabad is a toss up, and the judges are more or less partisans of the Government” caused a furor. The City High Court

1. *Hyderabad in 1890-91*, pp. 9-13.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

called upon Mr. Rudra to show cause why he should not be debarred from appearing before the court. He was virtually boycotted by the official world for his independent attitude. The incident is described as follows:—

“HYDERABAD, 24th January, 1891—As promised in a recent letter of mine I shall let you know how a gentleman who has the misfortune to be independent, spirited and to have the courage of his convictions, has been and is being persecuted here. The gentleman I refer to is no other than Mr. A. C. Rudra, Barrister-at-law. He set foot on this soil about two years ago and he has been a marked man since. The success that greeted him on all sides at the outset and the petty persecution and social “boycotting” that followed it close on its heels, the treatment he has received from the Moglai officialdom ranging from utmost warmth to utmost fridity, from petting to persecution: these show how very difficult it is for a self-respecting man to pull on well where factions reign supreme, that sycophancy and time-serving alone can constitute the secret of success in a place where men in power are such as are bent upon self-aggrandisement. Mr. Rudra was received with open arms by every one here at the beginning. How he was shaken by the hand, by the official “silk gloves,” how Mehdi Hassan “chaperoned” him into the favour of the officialdom, how he in his enthusiastic admiration proposed Mr. Rudra to a membership of the Nizam Club and how the Joint-Secretary of the Club seconded the proposal—all Hyderabad knows. And how all this favour and friendship turned into antagonistic factors is equally well-known. About the same time that he got into the Nizam Club Mr. Rudra accepted the correspondentship of the “Pioneer”—and then began his troubles. As the local representative of the “Pioneer” he was not going to act the apologist of the vagaries and the wrong-doing of the officials or their hangers-on. In his telegrams to the “Pioneer” which appeared in its issues of November and December 1889, he evinced a spirit of independence and a determination to echo the people’s voice at any cost which well-nigh took away the breath of his official friends and admirers. They saw what stuff he was made of, but thought that time would change him and convert him into a blower of their trumpets. They thought wrong. Mr. Rudra’s independence did not flag. He persisted in his cause with the result that his “friends” dropped off one after another. And by accepting a brief from the British officers concerned in the famous Sowar case,

he made himself "thoroughly" obnoxious to all in any way connected with the Government. Then came the declaration of "war". It was held, by the power-that-be, a crime deserving of exemplary punishment for any official to be on any good understanding with Mr. Rudra. And it was in accordance with this unwritten order that such of the officials as responded to the invitations issued by Messrs. Rudra, Gribble and Syed Ali for a picnic at Golconda—one of the social events of last year—got what is officially known as the *khanji* wink and Messrs. Syed Ali and Gribble who were associated with "the Offender" fared worse at the hands of the "Government". The "sinners" repented and were restored to favour, but Mr. Rudra stood recalcitrant—to suffer. Many methods have since been employed to cow him down and crush him. First in order came his "boycotting," from the Nizam's Club. The incidents connected with this are among the most remarkable in the annals of social life here. A challenge regarding his eligibility to membership of the club made by a member on the 7th December, 1889, and deemed "unfit for notice" at the time—was entertained against Mr. Rudra on the 11th October, 1890, by the Secretary of the Club—the Nawab Fateh Nawaz Jung. A rule which refers to certain nationalities and not to the individual religious beliefs of those falling under the nationalities was misinterpreted so as to operate against him. And he was turned out of the Club. This was followed by attempts to make this place too hot for him. Finding it difficult to get a house to live in, because of the *khanji* wink, he took shelter under the roof of a friend. Even here he was not left in peace. A distinguished official of the State had sworn to see him out of the friend's house. And the following conversation between the official and the friend reveals what unscrupulous men we have holding sway here now and to what depths they can descend to infuse terror into those who dare to be independent.

Official:—"I say, my friend the Nawab spoke to me about Rudra last night. He said he was stopping with you. Is it true?"

Friend:—"Yes. The poor fellow could not get a house. So I put him up with me, and mean to do so until he gets a house."

Official:—"You had better get rid of him as soon as you can. The Sirkar is very angry with you. The Nawab

told me that either you must drop Rudra or I must drop you. If you keep him long with you, it will be a sad look-out for you."

Friend:—"But how can I ask him to leave before he gets a house?"

Official:—"How I can't say. But the Nawab told me that Rudra is a rebel (Bagi) and anybody that associates with him will be regarded as a rebel. That is the Sirkar's opinion, and we shall do well to respect it."

As the result of this conversation, Mr. Rudra found himself within twenty-four hours of its taking place, occupying a house, the possession of which was soon to be claimed by a certain "would-be" tenant. While knocking about in this manner, Mr. Rudra was hauled over the coals for his remarks about the administration of justice in the Hyderabad Court in connection with Gribble *versus* Gallagher. I have seen the correspondence that has passed between the High Court and Mr. Rudra on this matter, and I find reason to believe that Mr. Rudra's position is unassailable and so I hope the High Court will be prudent enough to accept the explanation tendered by Mr. Rudra and be done with the ugly affair. You have not heard as yet Mr. Editor the last of the persecution. A high official of the State paid a visit recently to the head office of the "Indian Thunderer." What passed between him and the Editor-in-chief, no one knows, but there is good reason for believing that the official's visit has not been altogether unsuccessful. It is reported that Mr. Rudra and his Editor differed in opinion on a matter of considerable importance to the State, and this 'difference' has resulted in the non-appearance of Hyderabad telegrams in the columns of the paper. Here ends for the present the history of the Persecution."¹

Barrister Rudra had ultimately to leave Hyderabad State for his views which were anathema to the official world:

"An order published in a recent issue of the "Ja-reeda" notifies that in accordance with the decision of the learned Judges of the High Court, Mr. Rudra has been debarred for his offensive remarks on Justice in the Moglai

1. *Hyderabad in 1890-91*, pp. 61-64.

Courts in connection with Gribble *versus* Gallagher. It is noteworthy that the order should appear about the same time that Mr. Rudra by his cross-examination of Mr. Gallagher put the public in possession of many important State secrets, not the least of them being that which charges the officials with bribing unscrupulous newspapermen for being lauded up. A strange coincidence to be sure!"

The Press commented strongly on this order:—

"*Hyderabad, 21st March, 1891*,—This morning's '*Deccan Times* has a very sensible leader commenting upon the order recently passed by His Excellency the Minister revoking the licence granted to Mr. A. C. Rudra, Barrister-at-law, to practise in the Courts of His Highness the Nizam for "offensive remarks" made by him regarding the Judges of the High Court in connection with Gallagher *versus* Gribble. "The case of Mr. Rudra" is very clearly set forth, and the great injustice or rather the unheard-of severity of the order is dealt with in no spiteful or captious spirits. The remarks which have cost Mr. Rudra his *sunnudh* allude to the Government of Hyderabad being a personal one, to Judges being more or less all partizans of the Government, and to justice being a toss-up in Hyderabad. That the Hyderabad Government is a personal one, even the most unscrupulous of official proteges and apologists cannot and dare not deny; and the partizanship, *i.e.*, the thoroughly subservient character of the Judges, is put beyond a possibility of doubt by the fact that the High Court did not take any notice of the so-called offensive remarks until called upon more than once by the Government to do so. Who can gainsay then that justice is a toss-up here? A statement of these facts made when uncalled for would certainly constitute an unpardonable offence. But in the circumstances in which it was made by Mr. Rudra, it was privileged. His client, Mr. Gribble, stood charged with unprofessional and dishonourable conduct; and to have refrained from mentioning well-known facts calculated to disprove the charge would have been dereliction of duty. That the Judges should have failed to take all this into account and "unanimously resolved" to strike Mr. Rudra's name off the rolls of the advocates of the High Court is passing strange—if it does not point to partizanship." ¹

1. *Hyderabad in 1890-91*, page 88,

The Governing body of the Albert Reading Room, Secunderabad, were also active in interesting themselves in educational matters of public interest:—

“The Hindus of Secunderabad would seem to have taken a leaf from the book of their brethren here. The “Albert Reading Room” people convened one or two meetings to discuss the advisability of having a Hindu Judge in place of Mr. Ekbal Ali retired, and have finally resolved to memorialize the Government praying that it may take advantage of the vacancy created in the High Court branch and appoint a competent Hindu Judge to interpret law in the light of the customs and manners of a vast majority of His Highness’s subjects. The resolution though destined to fall flat on the powers-that-be is to be welcomed as indicative of the growth of public opinion which will have one day attained such strength as to force justice even from worse rulers than those in the ascendancy to-day.”¹

The newspapers in their outspoken comments against the administration had to run up against many difficulties yet they maintained an independent outlook. The following article appearing in the *Hyderabad Record*, which lasted for about 5 years, is illustrative of the tone and the temper of the press of the period:—

“The latter half of the nineteenth century was characterised by vigorous journalistic activity in Hyderabad and a number of newspapers and journals in Urdu, Persian, Telugu, Marathi and English were started during this period. Most important among them were:—

1. *Aftab-i-Deccan*.

Aftab-i-Deccan was published by Qazi Muhammad Qutb from Secunderabad in 1860.

2. *Afsar-ul-Akhbar*

It was a weekly of two pages published by Maulavi Mustaq Ahmad from Golconda.

3. *Asaf-ul-Akhbar*.

Asaf-ul-Akhbar was a weekly of six pages published from the Residency Bazaar by Narayan Swamy Mudaliar, from 1st February, 1878.

1. *Hyderabad in 1890-91*, pp. 79-80.

4. *Asafi*.

It was a weekly of six pages published by Sayyid Altaf Hussain in 1885.

5. *Islamia*.

It was published in 1882 by Maulvi Sayyid Mohib-i-Hussain.

6. *Shaukat-ul-Islam*.

This paper was first published at Sukurwarpet, Poona and later on from Bombay City. It was a four-page weekly. Later on it was published from Secunderabad by A. Haji Mohd. Kirtan Sahib. He was also granted permission to publish a part of his paper in English.

7. *Shafaq*, a weekly of six pages, published from the Residency Bazaars in 1881, by Narhari Rao.

8. *Mateen-i-Kirtan*.

It was published by Mohiuddin Kirtan from Afzal Gunj in 1870.

9. *Masrur-ul-Qulub*.

It was a supplement of *Shaukat-ul-Islam*, being a weekly of two pages published from Secunderabad from 28th February 1886.

10. *Muallim-i-Shafiq*.

In 1882 it was a monthly, and later on from August 1884 it became a weekly. Maulvi Mohib Hussain was its editor.

11. *Paik-i-Asafi*.

Paik-i-Asafi was a daily published from 1st January 1884 by Munshi Sayyid Hasan, *Jashan* Bilgrami, from the Mathba-i-Hazar Dastan. The Government granted aid of Rs. 1,500 a year to this journal.

12. *Jarida-i-alamiya*.

Jarida-i-alamiya. It was the Hyderabad State Gazette, published in 1869. First it was in Persian. Later on it was published in Urdu. Its first editor was Maulvi Zain-ul-Abedeen Shirazi. It continued till 1948.

13. *The Deccan Punch.*

The Deccan Punch was a weekly of six pages, published from Gowliguda by Kishan Rao in 1887.

14. *Hazar Dastan.*

At first it was a weekly but in 1883 it became a daily. It was published by Muhamad Aqil from Darushafa. It received an annual subsidy of Rs. 1,500 from the Nizam's Government.

15. *Sayyid-ul-Akhbar.*

Sayyid-ul-Akhbar, a Persian weekly, its publication was from 16th November, 1888.

16. *Ilm-o-Amal.*

17. *Musheer-i-Deccan.*

It is still continuing.

18. *Dena Vartaman.*

It was an eight-page bi-weekly, four pages in Urdu and four in English, published on Fridays and Saturdays by Narayan Swamy Mudaliar from the Residency Bazar.

19. *The Deccan Times.*

The Deccan Times was started in 1864. It was printed and published at 155, James Street, Secunderabad, by G. P. F. Gallagher. It was a weekly.

20. *The Deccan Standard.*

It was a weekly published from Secunderabad by Mr. Leech.

21. *Jami-Jamshid.*

22. *The Public Opinion.*

The Public Opinion was an English weekly published from the Residency Bazar.

Note:—It is interesting to note that in 1901, the number of periodicals and newspapers published was only 14, of which 12 were in Urdu and 2 in Marathi and only 7 out of 14 were newspapers.

Some of these newspapers were started to commemorate the happy event of the accession of His Highness Nawab Mir Mahboob Ali Khan on the 5th February 1884. It is interesting to note that a few newspapers and journals were

also started, however, outside the Hyderabad State on this occasion. (*Nizam-ul-Mulk* was a weekly of six pages published by Qazi Fahimuddin from Muradabad.).

This paper deals with one such paper called "The Hyderabad Record." Its issues were of a large size 19"×13" published thrice a week on Mondays, Wednesdays and, Fridays by Mr. Solomon from the Residency Bazar with a monthly subscription of Rs. 2.

In one of its editorials dated 29th January 1890 A.D. the policy of the paper is clearly enunciated thus:—

"The principles which have guided us hitherto, and hope will guide us hereafter, are above party considerations and we mean to pursue our public duties fearlessly and act at all hazards against every kind of evil. . . . Our honourable calling compels us to support the weak against the strong and in doing so we endeavour to yield implicit obedience to law, order. . . ."

The Hyderabad Record and the Nationalist Movement:

The Hyderabad Record always championed the cause of the Nationalist Movement and the down-trodden people. Even the Imperial Government at Calcutta did not escape its bitter criticism. In a series of editorials on "The Government of India's Suicidal Financial Policy" the paper drew the attention of the people to its repercussions.

As a champion of the Nationalist Movement, it vigorously espoused the cause by giving free publicity to its activities. It was but natural that it clashed with big personalities and also contemporary newspapers who did not escape its scathing remarks in this connection. For example, *The Deccan Times*, which started as Nationalist paper, later on came under the influence and pressure of the Residency and pursued an anti-national policy. Hence this paper came in for a lot of severe criticism at the hands of *The Hyderabad Record*.

Referring to Lord Dufferin's speech at the dinner given in his honour on St. Andrew's Day (where he called the Congress a microscopic minority), *The Hyderabad Record* "denounced it as the most indiscreet remark that could have been published or uttered and foresaw that it would be just disturbing a hornet's nest which might have been left alone, and that it would set the country ablaze. (*Vide, The Hyderabad Record*, dated 19th December 1888.).

Lord Dufferin's unsympathetic attitude towards the National Congress did not materially affect the position of the Freedom Movement. *The Hyderabad Record* writes, "the opposition from Lord Dufferin comes upon us as an unexpected surprise. But we knew that sooner or later we will have to present a compact front to the whole body of Indian officials from the Viceroy downwards.....But since it has been the case, we can say that it is a fortunate circumstance for us, that the retiring Viceroy's shallow denunciation of the Congress has so soon given us an opportunity to be fore-warned and thus to be fore-armed.

Proceeding further it adds "We are entering upon an era of struggle for the power which has hitherto been their preserve. And the Struggle that has in a manner already commenced between the ruling classes on the one hand, and the evergrowing class of the educated natives on the other, will be hardly less keen, or less sustained than was the struggle of the plebeians against the patricians in Roman History, or of the English people against the strong opposition of the king and the aristocracy in turn."

The Hyderabad Record refers to the attempt of Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk in belittling the Nationalist Movement. It also publishes extracts from Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk's letter addressed to Gladstone and Gladstone's reply to Nawab. Referring to the Nawab's interview with Gladstone, the paper commented, "In the course of the interview, the Nawab tried his best to draw out the veteran statesman for an expression of his views and opinion on this great and unique movement that is now engaging the attention of all classes of politicians throughout the length and breadth of India, and has already drawn the sympathies of all sincere well-wishers of India even in Great Britain, we mean the Indian National Congress. But the Nawab to his discomfiture unfortunately found that the wary politician and statesman was too astute to be so easily drawn out and so adamant he exhibited himself to be that the Grand Old Man refused to be charmed by the Nawab.....(*The Hyderabad Record*, dated 17th December, 1888).

The Hyderabad Record quotes with approval the speech of Gladstone who rebukes Lord Salisbury for calling Dada-bhai Nauroji 'a blackman', when he was seeking election to Parliament,

The arguments of Maharaja Dalip Singh in support of his claims over the Punjab, his appeal to the people of India to join his banner to drive the English out of India and his last manifesto have been given full publicity (*Ibid.*, dated 3rd May and 7th August 1889).

It devoted many columns and editorials to give full publicity to the proceedings of the Allahabad Session of the National Congress, (*Ibid.*, dated 28th and 31st December 1888, 4th, 7th and 11th January 1889).

The article "The Coming National Congress," *i.e.*, The Bombay Session appeared in its issue of 17th July 1889. Another editorial "A case for the Congress" appeared in its issue dated 17th December, 1889.

Charles Bradlaugh, who participated in the Allahabad Session of the National Congress, prepared a Draft Constitution for India and addressed a letter to the Editor of *The Hyderabad Record* requesting him to give full publicity to the scheme and also to apprise him of the public opinion about his draft. The following letter from him gives an idea of the esteem and popularity enjoyed by this paper:—

London, N.W.
20, Circus Road,
11th Oct. 1889.

To

The Editor,

The Hyderabad Record.

Sir,

I have pleasure in forwarding you in print a copy of the Draft Bill which I propose to ask leave to introduce next session for carrying out the proposals of the Indian National Congress regarding the enlargement (in number of members and in powers) of the various Legislative Councils in India, and for the provision of Councils where such do not exist. An explanatory Memorandum accompanies the Draft Notice of my intention to introduce such a measure as indicated and it has been placed by me on the Order Book of the House of Commons.

I am anxious that the terms of the Bill should be thoroughly discussed in India and I shall be indebted to you, if

you will publish the Draft in your paper, make it the subject of your own criticism and permit correspondence (should any of your readers wish to express an opinion on the Draft Bill as a whole, or on any of its provisions). Your criticism, whether for or against the measure, will be of exceeding value in guiding me. I venture to ask your most careful consideration of the Draft, I have the honour to lay before you.

I shall be obliged if you will send copies of your issues containing any reference to the measure and if desired I will remit the value of papers and postage.

I remain.

Your obedient servant,

CHARLES BRADLAUGH.

Referring to the Draft Bill, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya writes "It embodied the views of the Congress as expressed till then and the Congress in accordance with his wishes drafted certain proposals embodying the mature opinion of the Indian people on the subject", (*Vide Dr. P. Sitaramayya: The History of the Congress*, p. 133).

Read also "William Digby's interview with Mr. Gladstone" and his elucidation on the Draft Constitution (*Vide The Hyderabad Record*, dated 14th June 1889).

The Hyderabad Record gave in detail the proceedings of the meeting of the Secunderabad Committee of the Indian National Congress. (*Vide* K. Sajun Lal's article "The Indian National Congress," in *The Deccan History Journal*, January issue, pp. 81-86).

It was suggested that John Seymour Keay, M.P., who had come to Secunderabad on some business, should be requested to represent the Secunderabad Committee in the Bombay Session of the Indian National Congress. Referring to it *The Hyderabad Record* writes—"We have heard in more than one quarter that Mr. John Seymour Keay, M.P., has been asked to represent the Indian National Congress Committee of Secunderabad at the Annual Congress to be held in Bombay on the 25th instant as one of its delegates and that he had positively refused the preferred honour adding that he would attend the Congress only as a visitor and as an M.P."

The Office-bearers of the Local Committee of Secunderabad denied that any such offer was ever made by them to Mr. Keay. Commenting on this *The Hyderabad Record* writes "We are not sure whether Keay could be expected to satisfy the local gossip indulged in by certain officials and non-officials of the community. But any authoritative version from him would be very warmly welcomed, if it tended to clear up the otherwise erroneous impression." (*Ibid.*, dated 18th December 1889).

The Hyderabad Record, during its chequered career, frequently came into a clash with the Residency. As late as 1892, one Mr. Mitra was its correspondent as well as a sub-editor. It so happened that Mr. Mitra published 30 copies of a defamatory matter in a pamphlet and so the aggrieved party filed a suit for defamation. It became notoriously known as "The Pamphlet Scandal Case.".....The case dragged on for a long time. *The Hyderabad Record* was defended by the well-known Barrister, Mr. Norton, who got him (Mitra) acquitted. But the Residency suspended the publication of the paper for some time. The paper had not many good words to say about the Residency, for more than one reason. Its editor was a very vigilant and independent person who closely followed the activities of the Residency.

Its editorials under the caption "Haman and Mordecai" furnish full details of the defamatory case against its editor, Mr. Solomon and throw light on the part played by the Residency. No wonder *The Hyderabad Record* called the Residents the Local Caesars and the Residency returned the compliment by calling it a "Rag".

There are a number of editorial notices and news items, which usually appeared when an old Resident left and a new incumbent arrived to take his place, like "What sort of Resident Hyderabad Requires?", "Mr. A.P. Howell, the retiring Resident of Hyderabad," "The Coming Man," "The arrival of Dennis Fitzpatrick" and "Topics for the Resident's consideration" etc., etc.

The paper was critical about the activities of the Residents of Hyderabad and says in one place, "As soon as they cross the Red Sea they leave their conscience behind with one noble and single exception and that in the person of Mr. W. B. Jones." The paper continues, "It would be

simply stating an indisputable fact when we aver that, from the time of Sir Richard Meade down to the present day, every Resident that was sent to Hyderabad by the Government of India with one noble and single exception in the person of Mr. W. B. Jones, proved a lamentable failure and left Hyderabad with more or less tarnished reputation. We have heard and it is even recorded in the annals of Indian History that the British Officials coming out as administrators of the country in the olden times of the Court of Directors and Board of Control left their conscience at the Cape of Good Hope, when that was the only available route by which communication was kept up between England and India." Proceeding further it adds, "At the present time, it would appear those coming out on appointments from the Queen Empress leave their conscience at the Red Sea."

Further it says "We ourselves cannot with any degree of certainty say whether each and every Resident, before Mr. Fitzpartrick, had actually left his conscience behind him when he entered for the first time within the borders of H.H. the Nizam's Dominions."

The Hyderabad Record gives a critical appraisal of each of the Residents and how far they were responsible for party cliques and financial ruin of Hyderabad. About Sir Stewart Bayley it says, "The ears of Sir Stewart Bayley were secured by one of these partizan cliques and he became the author of the evils which resulted from the dual administration." (Laik Ali Nawab Salar Jung II was appointed Co-Administrator with the Peskhar. For details, read *Hyderabad Affairs*, Vol. IV, pages 384 & 390).

About Mr. Cordery the paper says "There are undoubted evidences that Mr. Cordery, the last of the permanent Residents of Hyderabad, had proved himself totally unfit to discharge his important duties as the British Representative at the Nizam's Court. That cannot be gainsaid. A veteran debauchy himself in several respects, he strenuously propped up an equally debauched Minister with all the weight of his official position against the sovereign until the game was up." and adds "Mr. Cordery was the worst Resident Hyderabad ever had, as he has done these territories the greatest and the most permanent mischief that it was possible for any human being to do."

Referring to how the Peshkar and Khurshid Jah had reversed the policy of Sir Salar Jung I with the help of

Mr. Cordery and how it resulted in the dismissal of skilled administrators and the return of old practices of corruption Blunt says, "What would seem incredible, but for which I could nevertheless vouch is that the Peshkar's misgovernment was strongly supported at the Residency." (Blunt, *India under Ripon*, p. 89 and 92. *Vide also The Hyderabad Affairs*, Vol. IV, p. 381).

On the completion of the work of water pipelines laid down in the Residency Bazar, the editor made the following comments touching the character of Mr. Howell, "It seems that the new system of water-works in the Residency Bazars having been completed, and the pipes laid down, the Government of H.H. the Nizam is about to enter a protest against the imposition of a water-rate within the limits of the Residency jurisdiction on the ground that it is contrary to the rule of Islam that water should be charged for". Proceeding further, the editor writes, "We shall be curious to learn how the officiating Resident will meet the objection. In his old polemical days, when the pen in his hand was a polished rapier, Mr. Howell would have leapt at such a chance to demolish the objection with fine scorn. But although his right hand has not altogether lost ancient cunning, although, when put on his mettle, he still exhibits remnants of his old fire and spirit, Mr. Howell of today is somewhat jaded, it must be confessed, has grown cold and cautious. He carries with him, we will not say a haggard, but a listless air, the air of a man whose hopes have been blighted, whose aims have been frustrated and whose ambition has miscarried....".

Reviewing the work of Howell on the eve of his retirement, the paper says, "His removal from Hyderabad, where he was either the cause of so much mischief himself or gave a tacit permission for their perpetration, has not been brought about a minute sooner than what was absolutely necessary and Hyderabad and its inhabitants cannot be too thankful for their deliverance".

One of the Residency officials called the people of Hyderabad *Dusky denizens* (Italics ours) and *The Deccan Times*, as usual, joined the chorus. *The Hyderabad Record* passed a scathing remark on the irresponsible officer. Yet this controversy continued. One Residency official under the nom-de-plume 'Warkemus Ward' upheld the remark. But one citizen wrote a long letter to *The Hyderabad Record* and

had torn to pieces the arguments of his opponent. Referring to Warkemus Ward's letter he wrote, "Besides, does he know and if he does not know, let him know now, that he and all the white-skinned official gang from the Governor-General and Viceroy downwards including the Resident here (Hyderabad), and his myrmidons are entirely supported by being paid by these very 'Dusky denizens' of the soil their handsome and princely salaries."

In view of these facts the Residency officials looked down upon the paper and as time passed on they could not tolerate its bitter attacks upon the Residency. So they stopped subscribing for it. The editor wrote a long, pungent and sarcastic editorial under the title 'Banned'. It makes interesting reading as may be judged from a few extracts given below:—

"It has come at last; and we are crushed and annihilated. Our proprietor has evaporated, our printer collapsed, our staff skuttled, our editor withered up into his books. The Olympian potentates of the Residency have launched a thunder-bolt from the blue—the old familiar bolt like irate Jow and angry Jenkins 'Stop my paper'...."

"We are, however, we admit just a little surprised to find the local Caesar belong to the order of men who will never learn....."

"Have the Residency folks yet to learn that these petty exhibitions of spleen invariably produce an effect precisely opposite to the one they are intended to create? Do they suppose that a newspaper is kept by a single monthly subscriber of two rupees? Do they imagine that we can make their two rupees go any further than the sum obtained from the lowest subscribers? or do they know that the loss of such precious support is more than compensated for by the increased circulation which always attended such ridiculous attempts to discountenance the expression of public opinion?"

For a long time the 'Mulki and Non-mulki' controversy was raging in Hyderabad State. *The Hyderabad Record* vigorously supported the cause of Mulki against the Non-Mulki. It wrote editorials and warned Sir Asman Jah for failing to keep up his promises. Referring to this controversy, it writes, "The tactics invariably employed by the party in power in this State which chiefly, if not exclusively, consists of all Hindustanis of Northern India are the following:—First to exclude Hindus and Muslims from all posts

of dignity, emoluments and power. . . This is done not only with the purpose of the exclusion of the natives of the country but also to strengthen their own position. Another method generally adopted by the party in power is to withdraw from their opponents their efficient assistants. In illustration of what we have just said, it would not be difficult for us to show that the solemn promises and the professions Sir Asman Jah Bahadur has been publishing in the *Jarida* since he assumed the charge of the Ministerial office is to the effect that no appointments under the Government would be conferred upon foreigners. We can prove that within the short time that Sir Asman Jah Bahadur has been the Minister, there were more foreigners imported into the State and appointments conferred upon them than during the tenure of any of His Excellency's predecessors.

Then the paper asked the Minister "Whether this is the way he intends fulfilling his solemn promises he has been publishing in the *Jarida* from time to time."

Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk wrote in defence of Sir Asman Jah's administration in reply to the charges of *The Hyderabad Record* but that did not close the controversy. *The Hyderabad Record* published in serial its re-joinders to the Nawab." ¹

When *The Hyderabad Record* ceased to exist its end was described in the following words:—

"It is always painful to have to write an obituary—and much more so when it relates to one who has done some service in his time. Yet it is desirable that it ought to be "writ"—for it often points a moral. *The Hyderabad Record* after struggling for life for a little over five years, breathed its last on Friday last. It was a chequered existence—and its reverses, successes and the unhappy circumstances which led to its sudden demise are full of valuable counsel to all those who are already engaged in journalistic work or who may be engaged in it, hereafter here. Under the late Mr. Job Solomon it was a power in the land. How before it was many months old it came to be stopped by British officials, how persistently and courageously Mr. Solomon fought against tremendous odds and secured the right to publish the paper again, how the "Record", until the moment of his death, was a terror to corrupt officials, how they winced under its attacks and kept their hands off

1. From the article captioned 'The Hyderabad Record' by K. Sajan Lal in the *Journal of Deccan History and Culture*, July 1956, p. 85 et seqq.

partiality or injustice to a certain extent at least in sheer fright of its criticism Hyderabad knows all. Mr. Solomon died, and with him died the independence and courage of the "Record". Under a good guide it might have had a long and very useful career".¹

1. *Hyderabad in 1890-91*, p. 98.

CHAPTER III

RESTRICTIONS ON THE PRESS AND THE REACTION

In 1891 the Government of Hyderabad in the Home Department issued a circular imposing a number of restrictions on newspapers. The editors were expected under this circular not to publish anything that might "threaten an injury to a Government servant or tend to prejudice the mind of the people against His Highness the Nizam's Government or any of its officers". This action of the Government was severely criticised in the press of the day. The Urdu paper *Shoukat-ul-Islam* refused to sign the agreement and commented upon it in very strong language with the result that it was suppressed. The following remarks show the reaction which the circular had produced in Hyderabad at the time:—

(1)

"The circular issued by the Home Secretary to the Native papers in Hyderabad, which you copied from *The Deccan Times* some days back, defines very clearly the character of the despotism that guides the destinies of over ten millions of His Highness's subjects. To expect any Editor to discharge the duty he owes to himself no less than to the public after binding himself not to publish anything that may "threaten an injury to a Government servant or "tend to prejudice the mind of the people against His Highness the Nizam's Government or any of its officers" is to expect him to accomplish what is impossible; and to think that any man with a modicum of self-respect will subscribe to such a ridiculous "agreement", is to count too much upon the hectoring or terrorising policy the Home Secretary has hitherto pursued. If this circular has been called for—I mean if the officials cannot afford to stand a moment without the "thick coating" that mercenary writers can invest them with for a consideration, if their doings are such as cannot bear the light of day—what becomes of the tall talk that all that people in power do is fair, that there are data for each document issued, and good reasons for each step taken. The Nawab Mehdi Hassan evidently mistook his vocation and the master he would have to serve when he entered the service of His Highness the Nizam—a prince who has "so

much " to do with an enlightened people like the English and a liberal Government like theirs. What an acquisition he might have been as a censor of the Press under the Czar of all the Russia. But then I forget that in Russia people do not rise by flattery and wield power without intelligence."¹

(2)

" Under instructions from the great Home Secretary contained in his letter No. 183, dated the 25th Shaval, the City Cotwal has issued an urgent circular (No. 4956) to the Editors of some of the vernacular papers characterising their failure to send their papers to the Home Secretary in spite of his being a subscriber thereto and calling upon them to send their papers regularly or to " show cause " for unwillingness to do so. This circular is noteworthy as being issued by the City Cotwal under instructions from the Home Secretary. What has the Cotwal to do with newspapers? And why should he, of all, be made the medium of communication between Editors of Newspapers and the Home Secretary? These are questions that need to be answered by the authorities or those who have the " honour of being in their confidence." ²

(3)

" HYDERABAD, 27th June 1891, The Home Secretary's Gaggling Circular has borne fruit already. The *Shaukat-ul-Islam*, an Urdu paper published within the Moglai limits, has been suppressed for refusing to sign the agreement sent round and commenting thereon in strong, but by no means undeserved terms. This action on the part of the *Mushtak-Mehdi Hussan Government*, their organ attempts to justify in its issue of yesterday's date. And this is its 'justification.' " To our notions the circular might be ' bad law ' *that does not matter*—but the punishment inflicted on the Editor who refused to obey it is quite ' legal ' for in the absence of any Press Act the sovereign authority which grants a license to start a paper can revoke it if it likes, and the refusal to obey an order must needs be punished." I wonder how the punishment is ' Legal '. Did the circular—I mean ' the bad law ' declare that refusal to sign the agreement which seeks to enslave the Press or rather public opinion, on the part of any Editor, would be followed by the suppression of his paper? Is every means resorted to by an administration, to

1. Hyderabad in 1890-1891, pp. 109-110.

2. Hyderabad in 1890-91, p. 111.

provide against any ugly exposure 'legal'? The present Government has in season and out of season claimed to be the best Government Hyderabad has had, has ever professed to be actuated by nothing but consideration for the well-being of the people and has always declared itself to be ready to turn itself 'inside out' if necessary to prove its honesty of purpose. How the measure promulgated by the circular which no previous Government found it necessary to adopt, and the punishment inflicted on the independent man who refused to be "muzzled" thereby are consistent with this claim, this profession and this declaration, I wish to know. If it is true that every line that appears in the local papers or in the mofussil once on Hyderabad affairs is translated into Urdu by an establishment kept up for the purpose for the benefit of His Excellency the Minister, I wish he would see an explanation for this glaring inconsistency furnished to the public.

I hitherto gave the Nawab Mehdi Hussan credit for keensightedness, but I see now that I was mistaken. He seems to be quite at a loss to understand the circumstances amidst which he is placed, to read the signs of the times in which he finds himself possessed of enormous power. Does he know that Hyderabad has not been at a stand-still for a quarter of a century, that days when any wickedness and injustice could be perpetrated safe from the eyes of the people or authority belong to ancient history, now that public opinion—it does not matter by whom guided—is gaining in volume and strength day by day, that agitation for justice which was an unknown factor formerly has given his Government endless trouble? If he does, it is impossible to comprehend how he could commit the blunder of issuing a circular with a view to gag the Moglai Press, and aggravate it by suppressing the paper the Editor of which had the honesty and moral courage to protest against it."¹

The difficulties under which the Press in those days was labouring can be seen from the following:—

"Though the men in power talk pretty good that none but the favoured few are admitted to their confidence. yet their secrets get out—somehow—now and then, mostly in the shape of rumours, and reveal to us how they seek to strengthen themselves. And this is really fortunate. Some

1. Hyderabad in 1890-91, pp. 118-114.

time ago the *Safiri Dekhan*, an Urdu daily published within the Residency limits, wrote a leader severely commenting on the action of the Government in the city murder case. This annoyed the Minister so much, a rumour says, that he wrote to the Resident requesting him to suppress the *Safiri*. What effect this letter had upon the Resident, the rumour does not say; but it is not likely that he would go out of his way to oblige even the Minister, for he must know how one of his predecessors suppressed an English Journal published within the Residency limits and how he was pitched into for this by the Supreme Government. Whether there is any truth in this rumour or not, this much is certain that the article above referred to caused much gnashing of teeth in the official circles. Soon after the publication of it Moulvi Sad-ud-deen, the proprietor of the *Safiri Dekhan*, was summoned before a high official and asked to tender an apology for the statements made in the leader and publish a contradiction thereto. The Moulvi refused to do anything of the sort and wished that the high official would put in writing what he wanted him (the Moulvi) to do. Perhaps the upshot of this was the communication which rumour speaks of as having been addressed to the Resident by the Minister. Another and a still higher official also played a part. From the heights of Olympus—I mean Mahableshwar—the “Jehova, Jove or Lord” of Hyderabad thundered against the poor Moulvi-Sad-ud-deen. He wrote to him to say that he had forfeited his favour by publishing the article on the City Murder case, that after seeing it in his paper he could not but withdraw his patronage from him. Even if he were a private gentleman and not an official, the mighty official continued, he would have felt called upon to take the step he took—and wound up by saying “Yeh umda our pakizah zaban Apki Apko mobarik rahai” that is “May such elegant and choice language (as that used in the leader) stand you in good stead.” I may state *en passant* that I have had the leader in question translated to me and I find the language though strong quite called for by the occasion.”¹

(2)

“I called upon a British authority in one of the ‘places administered by the Governor-General, but not forming part of British India’ recently in connection with the permission applied for previously to start a newspaper therein; and it might interest your readers to know what transpired

1. *Hyderabad in 1890-91*, pp. 114-115.

at the interview. Being ushered into the authority's presence, I was asked what I wanted. I explained to him the object of my visit; and he said:

"I don't think you will get the permission".

"Why?" I asked. "Can you assign reasons for thinking so?"

"Yes" said he. "We don't want to have a paper of the sort here."

"Is it so?" I asked.

"Yes—it is so" said he. "We don't want such a paper, and that is the reason why you will not get permission to start it. Is not the reason clear enough?"

And I had to admit that "the reason was clear enough" and I bade him good morning and got out. What a wonderful instrument for smothering the public voice the recent order of the Government of India will furnish politicals such as this with, it is easy to understand.¹

(3)

"Some have been curious to know who the British authority is that could think of disposing of an application for permission to start a newspaper with a curt "we don't want a paper of the sort, so you will not get the permission to start it." The authority is Mr. Crawford, the first Assistant Resident. I wrote to him on a certain day asking him for an appointment to see him in connection with the permission applied for to start a newspaper. The appointment was duly made and what transpired at the interview I had with him on the appointed day, at the appointed hour, I have already told your readers. Well, returning from the interview, I put down on paper the particulars of the interview and sent it to Mr. Crawford with a letter to the effect: "I have noted down on another paper the particulars of the interview I had with you this morning. Please look through and let me know if I have omitted anything that you may like to be mentioned and oblige. If by Friday next I do not receive a reply I shall consider myself at liberty to send to the papers my account of the interview as being strictly

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 116-117.

faithful." And this elicited, *mirabile dictu*, an official document from the Extra Assistant Resident's Office informing me, in reply to my letter regarding the permission, that the application for permission would be placed before the Resident for orders. I could not for the life of me understand what the document meant, for I had never written to Mr. Crawford about the permission, the only letter written to him being the one asking for appointment in connection with it to which I had received a reply making an appointment. All this about the British authority's proceedings sounds so funny that, I am sure, your readers will enjoy the reading of it."¹

(4)

"At no time have we been wanting in slaves who could put their necks to the yoke readily and without a murmur and even commend the galling effects thereof. Following close upon the spectacle presented by the independent *Shaukat Islam* refusing to dance to the tune of an unscrupulous Government and suffering thereof, we have the sight of the *Mahboob-ul-kuloof* cheerfully putting on slavery of praising the strength of the chain binding him and testifying to the salutary results thereof. The *Kuloof* has within the last few days posed as a champion of the Gagging Circular—and a smart critic of the *Rozgar* who is too stupid to understand what is good and the *Islam* who is too conceited to obey what will do him good. Too prudent *Kuloof*! Truly if fellow-feeling makes us wonderous kind—a servile spirit renders us wonderous blind!"¹

(5)

"The Government organ gives its readers to understand that *The Deccan Times* has notified to its staff that the paper will stop publication on the 31st instant. This is very bad news. Though not persistent and consistent in its advocacy of popular interests, *The Deccan Times* has been in a way a check on the rashness or inclination to do wrong of individual officials or cliques in the State. That this check is about to be removed, will no doubt cause jubilation in the midst of those who are in the least degree sensitive of public criticism. They will no longer have a local critic; the people

1. Hyderabad in 1890-91, pp. 119-120.

1. Hyderabad in 1890-91, pp. 121-122.

will have to seek the aid of distant journals to publish their grievances, and the journalists not being on the spot can be heckled for their ignorance for giving publicity to the misrepresentations of interested parties; and the time that must elapse between the commission of an offence and its exposure by them can be expected to weaken their advocacy. What a satisfaction this must be to wrong-doers—and to *The Deccan Standard* who can say, at least locally, “I am Sir Oracle, and when I open my lips let no dogs bark?” What the official mouth-piece choose to call the “ostensible reason”—“The unwillingness or inability of the proprietor to carry on the paper under the new order” of the Government of India—must surely be regarded as the real reason for the Times’ notification to its staff. For how can one with any feeling of safety work a paper claiming to be independent under the new, uncalled-for and arbitrary rules?”¹

(6)

HYDERABAD, 18th December, 1891—In a few days more the one English Paper that Hyderabad can boast of—if it can be said to boast of such paper at all—will cease to exist; and the party in power will congratulate itself on being left there “without the necessity to defend itself” at the bar of public opinion. This does not cause regret to the people; on the other hand it is matter for congratulation to them that the journal which has been their worst enemy will—before long go to the d-1, though according to the sweet will and pleasure of the men in power and only to enable them to say “we have established our honesty of purpose, so we condescend to argue no longer over the motives or results of our conduct. “In truth *The Deccan Standard* has been a curse to Hyderabad since its “resurrection”. It has not only had no word to say at any time on behalf of the interests of the millions, but it has always written against them and lavished sickening praises on their enemies who, mostly, form the present Ministry. It is therefore no wonder that the news of its approaching end has been received with such unalloyed delight by all classes of people here.

With *The Deccan Standard* disappears the local medium for the expression of the offensive, aggressive Hyderabad officialism and flunkysim. I have written “Local Medium”

1. *Hyderabad in 1890-91*, p. 127.

advisedly for now and then come floating down to me whisperers of hush-moneys and "retainers" sent to journals outside Hyderabad, and the large number of copies subscribed for by the Government of this or that English daily. But this is not all the mischief that the people have suffered from, since they were left without an independent paper to espouse their cause. The people with grievances—and their number is legion—have had to keep still tongues in their heads; oppression and injustice have gone on without fear of exposure or criticism; and the unhappy results of all this the running man may read here. As the representative of the "Hindu" I have come in contact with all sorts and conditions of people in these Dominions; and the truest evidence I have had of the arbitrary character of the present Government, the most fruit reward for the little I am doing by way of bringing light into the dark places of this administration, has been the most illiterate and ignorant people's coming to me now and then and asking me to read and explain my letters in the "Hindu", and their expressing their gratefulness to me in their own simple way, for daring to show up "the mighty." And I know how much the want of an honest, independent journal here is felt by the people. Who will or rather who can make up his mind to supply this want in Hyderabad with Mehdi Hassan's Press memorandum in force in the Moglai limits and the Government of India's Gagging Regulations in the British?"¹

It would be fitting to close this chapter by reproducing below the leader in the *Shoukatul Islam* on this Government order intended to muzzle the independent Press:—

"HALAKU KHANI ORDERS OR THE ATTEMPT OF SOME
FRIENDS TO BLACKEN THE FACE OF GOVERNMENT

How long can silence be observed

In regard to the pangs of lovers' hearts?

I burn! I burn!

How long can this secret be kept hidden?

The lesson taught by the revolutionary changes which are taking place in the world today is clear to every individual and even to a child of the intelligentsia, viz., that if it is desired to move along the path of progress, civilisation and prosperity, it is essential to encourage cultural and practical enterprise, including independent newspapers and journals of a high order. Alternatively, it is possible to follow the opposite path, to indulge to full satiety in love of power

1. *Hyderabad in 1890-91*, pp. 175-176.

and selfishness, to usher in general ruin, to spurn successes and blessings which are within reach and at hand and thus, after trampling under feet the changes of national progress, to earn the contempt of one's fellow beings in this world and of God and His Holy Prophet in the next.

If, despite this, we close our eyes and without making any attempt to differentiate between what is good and what is bad for the Hyderabad Sultanate, we persist in doing it injury and yet believing that we have done it service or at least what may pass for service, we can only have very questionable motives and if even now Government do not exercise their just powers it can only be a matter of great regret and amazement.

If judgment is exercised with honesty and sympathy it will be realised how the over-all position of Hyderabad is being confused and complicated. and among the (administration) matters that come up for decision there is hardly a matter that does not become tainted with the selfish policy of the officers close to the Minister and with their desire to keep H.E. the Minister altogether unacquainted with such matter, or when efforts are not made, by undue influence, to keep his attention confined to the two or three officers nearest to him to the exclusion of others, thereby giving rise to a policy of stupidity and shortsightedness.

It was and is quite essential that complicated affairs should be brought to light and clandestine dealing exposed and the State preserved against all the machinations, frauds, deceits and power-greediness of individuals; this called and calls for an extension of the sources of information and intelligence. Only such measures could avert the evil consequences of bribery and flagrant irregularities, and progressively make the Minister's office a seat of glory, glamour, beauty and interest, like his private mansion, the Bashir Bagh. On the contrary, however, and quite in disregard of these requirements, an order and a draft agreement bond have been issued this week to vernacular newspapers, under the false and deceptive guise of friendliness, though they actually have the effect of making the State and the Ministry a honets' nest and centre of fraudulent activities and of protecting those who are engaged in conspiracies against the State and the Government, villifying the State and gradually undermining the very foundations of the Ministry. The order and the draft agreement are in contravention of all rules and the constitution. The order, together with our reply and a brief comment, is published for the benefit of the readers, with

utter amazement and in the hope that while following the principles of culture, refinement, civilisation and progress, they will also judge and decide how beautifully the wording of the agreement is calculated to sow the seeds of tyranny and enmity in the farmyard of goodwill and loyalty.

“ Order of the Department of Police, City and Suburbs, dated 3rd Thir, 1300 Fasli, corresponding to 29th Sharwal, 1300 H.

Main No. 5050

Misc. No. 2444

While sending copies of the enclosed agreement and order of the Home Secretary (Department of Police) No. 1865, dated Thir, 1300 F. on the subject of obtaining agreement from the Managers and Editor of newspapers in the prescribed form, the Manager and Editor of Shoukat-ul-Islam newspaper are informed that *the Government in the Home Department have ordered* that an agreement as mentioned above be obtained from you, since, you have not submitted an agreement previously. Hence you are asked kindly to send an agreement to this office in compliance with the orders of the Government according to the draft sent herewith after affixing your signature and seal to it.

Copy with a copy of the agreement mentioned is sent to the Manager and Editor of Mahboob-ul-Quloof newspaper also, for compliance.

(Sd.) ZAINUDDIN,

for Police Dept. City and Outside.

The portion italicised (by us) is apparently quoted from the order received by the Police Department from the Home Secretary and needs consideration. No logician or legislator ever before hit on the argument, *viz.*, “ Since we could not secure this thing earlier, we have now acquired a title to it”. Quite right! Now for the agreement:—

“ I (so and so) son of (so and so) residing at. declare that I am the printer and publisher of the paper under issue titled () which is printed and published at I promise that I or my representative or successors will not commit the following acts:—”

Promises and agreements can be made only in regard to matters which the concerned parties have settled and agreed upon and which yield some advantage, and not loss to the

party making the promise or agreement. This agreement and commitment, for the execution and implementation of which no procedure has been indicated; can result in such colossal loss to us as well as to the State and the Ministry that it is not possible to give its details in one instalment or issue. Only the following details may now be considered:—

“ To print or publish any words or sketches or hints which might incite disloyalty towards the British Govt. or the Government of H.H. the Nizam or result in discord among the members of various races, nationalities, religions or communities, irrespective of whether these communities live within British territory or the territory of H.H. the Nizam ”.

Why not put it in plain words? This laconic and complicated style can only lead us journalists to conclude that we will be arrested the moment we say even a word in support of a decaying nation and a dying religion and will be put to sleep the moment we try to warn Government against the disloyalty or unworthiness even of any worthless member of Government. Such precedents cannot be found even in the most backward and autocratic States, to say nothing of the Hyderabad State, which is becoming more and more enlightened every day and His Highness has the welfare of his subjects sincerely at heart.

“ To intimidate or cause pain to any person or instigate anyone to offer money or something else in lieu of money or any other thing signed or sealed which might serve in lieu of money to another person or—give illegal gratification to him ”.

The apparent and hidden implications of this clause are very grave. One of them is that if any officer behind the veil of his good name and false reputation of an able man (it should be borne in mind that no person is deceived or cheated by any one whom he knows to be a cheat or a thief) indulges in unlawful activities, in utter disregard of loyalty to the Government and interests of the State, and receiving exclusive information of this, we make an attempt, by reminding him of the power, greatness and alertness of Government to reform him, our sole reward shall be complete emasculation, which will be followed by a veiled proclamation throughout the land whosoever makes the slightest protest against corruption, wickedness or disloyalty shall meet the same end as ours, even though the edifice of the State is shaken to its foundations.

Would this exalt the name of His Highness or give stability to the Government? Hardly. And when this happens to be the position, it does not befit a newspaper avowing allegiance to the State and the ruler to bow down to these conditions and accept them unreservedly like scriptural commandments.

“To threaten with injury a Government Servant or such other person as is supposed to be connected with a Government servant and by that means to induce the Government servant to do a particular act in the discharge of his duties or fail in the discharge of duties or delay the discharge of his duties”.

If Mulla Akfash, the grammarian, or Solon, the law-giver, were alive, they would have enjoyed the legal comprehensiveness and grammatical beauty of this Section which has fallen in our unworthy hands. Still, despite our ignorance of law and rules and regulations, we would venture to comment that unless such sanctions as warnings of disciplinary action and evil consequences are brought to bear against the officers given to irregular practices, it would be difficult to run the administration satisfactorily. May our friend be blessed with a long life: we shall meet again. To give further details:—

“To print or publish any anonymous writings in their paper”.

While publishing this agreement, *The Deccan Times* has already compared Hyderabad with Russia in the matter of tyranny. We are however prepared to prove that even in a vast and autocratic State like Russia, newspapers are not forced to disclose the names of their correspondents and informants or are thus coerced into introducing in the public life, instead of reforming it, such a dangerous and powerful anti-State and anti-Government element as even a vast and powerful bureaucracy like Russia would not be able to face, to say nothing of Hyderabad.

It is foolhardiness to take the lightning for pyrotechnic flowers and a terrible river like the Ganges for a swimming pool. The reality will be revealed to you if, laying theory aside, you enter the arena of action and engage in stopping a couple of these flowers or waves. This conspiracy to gag newspapers is really not a step on the road of progress but a harking back to barbarism which should ever be abhorred by a State which in its refinement, culture, progress and prosperity claims to be a follower and ally of the British Government.

“Any such news about Government, His Highness or any officer of the State which might adversely affect public opinion and about the authenticity of which full proof has not been obtained.”

If I, or my representatives or successor disregard any of the above conditions Government will be entitled to forbid the publication of my paper, in which case myself, my representative or successors shall not be entitled to any compensation or damages. These responsibilities will be in addition to the responsibilities which are imposed upon me, my representatives or successors under the ordinary laws in force at the time.

It is a fact well known not only to us but to the whole world that any attempt to incite the people to disaffection against the State through newspapers is sedition which is prohibited by law and eschewed by all journalists. But not even semi-barbarous States and Governments suppress newspapers striving in support of and for the welfare of the State on the recommendations and for the benefit of the same traitorous and incapable officials and officers and advisers who masquerade in the guise of friends but are always ready to stab Government in the back and whom the newspapers are trying to show up in their true colours. To penalise one who out of loyalty and in the spirit of reform warns you against a flattering traitor is to dig your grave with your own hands, as the old proverb has it. The well-known Persian couplet says:—

“Look at the tyranny of these mendicants who under their beggarly robes have hidden many nooses to hang with you.”

It is now for the clever politician and the far-sighted well-wisher of the State to decide if the above inference is correct or not. It must also be decided whether or not it is a recognised and established principle of investigation and administration that every information received should first be thoroughly scrutinised and verified and only then conclusions drawn from it. Had the news itself implied full proof and verification, there would not have been a single magistrate or judge in this world today. Everything would have depended on informants! the moment an informant intimated that Zaid had murdered Baquar, Zaid would have been hanged and the case closed.

Shame! Shame! we now humbly attempt to solve this problem in a few words: Law, Religion and Ethics all look to the intention of the doer. The guilt or innocence of all acts is determined by the intention. No act becomes punishable or a crime unless the bad intention of the doer is established. In the same way while the freedom and encouragement of the press are necessary to frustrate many future evils and treacherous designs, if any improper news or article is published it can always be examined in the light of the intention of the writer, and where bad intention is proved, the author can be punished under the Indian Penal Code. In spite of this, to say that without confession or proof the newspaper will be stopped, the press confiscated and this and that would happen, would be like calling loyal friends and servants to one's house and, gloating over one's powers, to attempt their lives without regard to difficulties in the way and consequences. To say that some of the clauses of the agreement bond are derived from the Penal Code does not deserve any consideration because they have come before us in the shape of an irregular document and not in the shape of an Act. The procedure for their implementation is vague and nothing but a screen of deceit.

We trust that His Excellency the Prime Minister, whose well-known personal love of justice the Home Department claims to follow will appreciate our friendly comment and will not lend support to any action, overt or covert, fraught with grave danger to the State. It is advisable to stop the spring at its source, for once it is on its way and full, not even an elephant can check its course."

CHAPTER IV.

ARYA SAMAJ AND THE GANESH UTSAV IN HYDERABAD

In the year 1892 Swami Giranand Saraswati visited Hyderabad and stayed with Mukund Lal. He delivered a number of lectures on the Arya Samaj. Due to his efforts the Arya Samaj was established in Hyderabad City in 1892. Earlier *i.e.* in 1891 the first Arya Samaj in the State of Hyderabad had been established at Dharur in the district of Bhir, due to the efforts of Pandit Bhagawat Swarup and Sri Gokul Persad. The Arya Samaj in the Hyderabad City started functioning in 1892. The President was Sri Kamta Persad and the Secretary Mahatma Laxman Dasji. The first annual celebration of Arya Samaj was held at Kandaswami Bagh. Among the eminent persons who attended this function from outside the State were Swami Atmanand, Pandit Khushi Ram, Sri Kishandas and Sri Sevaklal. The Arya Samaj moved into its own building in 1905. Since Arya Samaj was for reforms in the existing religious observances, its lectures created a strong reaction amongst the orthodox section of the City. The Sanatan Dharma Maha Mandal was established at about the same time to counteract the activities of the Arya Samaj. The preachers of the Arya Samaj were Sri Gokul Persad and Sri Deen Dayal Sharma. A number of religious discussions seem to have been held between the Arya Samaj and the Sanatanists at this time and attracted considerable attention. In 1894 two preachers of the Arya Samaj, *viz.*, Pandit Bala Krishna Sharma and Nityanand Brahmachari were expelled from the State.

On 25th September, 1894 the Commissioner of City Police wrote to the Secretary, Judicial Department a D.O. in which he says:—

“....A few non-Mulki Hindus have arrived in Hyderabad who are persuading Hindus and Muslims to join Arya Samaj. They have formed a committee with a Non-Mulki named Kishen Rao, as the Secretary. One Kant Pershad is employed by the Committee on Rs. 40 p.m. who stays in Feelkhana. The Committee have also invited one Balkrishna from Khandesh and two Swamis from Bombay.

They are staying in Hyderabad for the last one month and are paid Rs. 20 p.m. They have rented a house in Gosha Mahal. These non-Mulkies deliver lectures and discuss with Hindus, Muslims and even Untouchables and appeal to them to join Arya Samaj.”¹

The D.O. goes on to state that they have a book written in Hindi by one Dayananda Swamy. It is called Satyarth Prakash. In this book “the Koran of Muslims, the God of Muslims, the Prophet of Muslims and the Paradise of Muslims” have been attacked in “filthy” language. Some Muslims had a talk with them and the former say that if they had arms with them, they would have cut the Araya-Samajists to pieces. These Arya Samajists also admit that such attack had been made on Islam. On explaining to them that the Muslims were angry with them, they said that they would go away. The D.O. further states that they had moved into the Residency area and were carrying on their activities there.

The Judicial Secretary passed on the D.O. of the Police Commissioner to the Private Secretary to the Minister with a request to forward the same to the Resident for information and necessary action.

On 2nd October 1894 Nityananda Brahmachari and Visveshvarananda Saraswati filed a petition with Nawab Vikar-ul-Omra, Prime Minister of Hyderabad, with a request to “issue orders to the Kotwal at once not to interfere with the petitioners or with the said preachers of the Samaj and to cancel any orders he may have issued concerning them, and to render police aid in carrying out their legitimate object in the city”.

In reply to the Judicial Secretary’s letter of 2nd October 1894 (referred to above), the Private Secretary to the Prime Minister wrote to say on October 3, 1894 that he had handed over the petition of the Swamis to the Judicial Secretary that day in Falaknuma and that “it was settled this morning that until you had considered the petition and submitted it to the Minister, the Resident was not to be addressed on the subject.”

On 9th Rabi-ul-Akar 1312 H, the Kotwal submitted a note on the petition to the Judicial Secretary in which he

1. From file No. 454 of 1803 Fasli of the Home Secretariat, Government of Hyderabad. The other extracts which follow are also from the same source.

reiterated his views expressed in his previous report and feared that if no action were taken, it was likely that a riot would break out in the city far more serious than what had happened in Poona and other places in India.

On 16th October 1894, Pandit Balkrishna Sharma filed a petition through his pleader, Ramchandra Pillai, with the Judicial Secretary stating that by the orders of the Kotwal he had been virtually turned into a prisoner and that his pleader when he came to see him was placed in police custody for 2 hours and only released on the orders of the Kotwal.

On 19th October 1894, Ramchandra Pillai filed a petition with the Judicial Secretary stating that Pandit Balkrishna Sharma was deported to Sholapur on 17th October under Police escort. "The Zulum of Police has reached its climax and further commentary is unnecessary I Pray in the name of Justice that orders may be issued at once ordering a strict enquiry and for the recall of the Pandit who was never charged with any offence, still less was any proved and the poor man was not even heard."

The Kotwal submitted a note on the petition of Ramchandra Pillai on 24th Rabi-ul-Akhar 1312 H., in which he stated that the Swamis and the Pandit used highly insulting language with regard to other religions and that hundreds of Hindus and Muslims, who were infuriated, had approached him and had filed hundreds of applications stating that there was a likelihood of riot breaking out in the city. The Swamis had deputed lawyers to him with a request that they may be allowed to preach in the city and that they may be given police protection.

The note further goes on to state that he had told the lawyers that "in the whole of India where people are unarmed, various religious riots have taken place and the British Govt., though more powerful, could not stop those riots and hundreds were killed and wounded and punished. This is an Islamic State and the people are armed and are full of religious fervour." The Kotwal further states in his note that the same night the two Swamis left Hyderabad by train. Balkrishna Sharma, who had gone to Siddiamber Bazar and was staying with a woman, was the cause of some trouble in which the Police had kept the pleader under custody. Because of the trouble, Balakrishna Sharma was deported.

The Judicial Secretary also put up a note to the Minister in which he summed up all that had been said by the Kotwal in his notes, but took serious objection to the deportation of Balakrishna Sharma inasmuch as no charge was preferred against him nor was anything proved. He also took a serious view of the attitude of the police in the whole affairs.

The Minister endorsed in his own hand on 21st Jamadi-us-Sani 1312 H. that no further action was necessary and that the whole case might be closed.

The petition of the Arya Samajist preachers and that of Pandit Balkrishna Sharma are reproduced below:—

To

HIS EXCELLENCY,

NAWAB VIKARUL-UMRA BAHADUR,

Prime Minister,

Hyderabad-Deccan.

The humble petition of Nityananda Brahmachari and Visvesvarananda Sarasvati, Hindu Fakirs of the Vedic religion, at present residing in Residency Bazars.

Sheweth,

That having renounced the world they have entirely devoted themselves to the service of God in preaching to the world the duty of man to his Maker, and his duty to the world, as revealed in the Vedas, but it has been their policy never to insult a foreign religion or the prophets of other creeds and as proof of this fact, they would refer Your Excellency to the numerous spectators, Mohamedans included, who were present at their lectures delivered during their stay in Hyderabad, but they appear however to have created a few enemies among Hindus in Hyderabad, because of petitioners telling them that the Vedas do not enjoin idolatry and such other things, which now-a-days have become too popular; and they belong to a most learned and loyal institution called the Arya Samaj which is doing excellent work throughout India and especially in Northern Hindustan, as Your Excellency is probably aware.

That such enemies under the leadership of a Brahmin, generally known by the name of Panchapakshi, with no pretensions to any deep or even fair knowledge of the Vedas,

have been busy in spreading false and malicious rumours that petitioners denounce the Koran and the Mohamadan religion, and he the Panchapakshi, had the audacity to inform the City Kutwal Nawab Akbar Jung, that petitioners belong to a sect which condemned the Mohamadan religion, and he even went to the length of submitting some false petitions in the name of a few Mohamadans and that the Kotwal having at a public meeting held at the house of Raja Shivaraj Dharmavant pledged himself in writing to the said Panchapakshi, that he would support him in every possible way against petitioners in maintaining his principles, sent for them and enquired of them what they had preached and though he was fully convinced that the Panchapakshi had misled him, the Kotwal nevertheless asked petitioners to leave his jurisdiction and thus avoid conflict with Mohamadans, who he said were much incensed against petitioners and might do them bodily harm and petitioners out of deference to constituted authority, at once left the Kotwal's jurisdiction and went into the Residency.

Petitioners feeling themselves aggrieved by this most arbitrary and illegal order of the Kotwal, most respectfully appeal for the following reasons to Your Excellency against the same, being confident of justice being done to them, and being also aware that His Highness's Government is not only tolerant to all religions but supports their various institutions with inams and liberal pecuniary grants.

That the Kotwal acted beyond his authority and contrary to the liberal policy of his own Government in identifying himself with this or that religion, creed or sect besides his own, and in interfering with the liberty of a subject in preaching what religion he pleased, so long as he did not preach sedition, and so long as he did not violate the laws laid down by His Highness's Government.

That the Kotwal further acted beyond his authority in having called upon a paid preacher of the Samaj, named Balakrishna Sharma, without any lawful grounds, to execute a Muchelika, that he would not in future deliver lectures even on the premises of the Samaj or anywhere, thus arbitrarily trying to close the Samaj itself to the great delight of the Panchapakshi and his advisers.

Petitioners therefore solicit the favour of Your Excellency issuing orders to the Kotwal at once not to interfere

with petitioners or with the said preacher of the Samaj and to cancel any orders he may have issued concerning them, and to render police aid if necessary in carrying out their legitimate object in the City, and for which they will ever pray.

(Sd.) VISVESVARANANDA SARASVATI,
(Sd.) NITYANANDA BRAHMACHARI,
*Care of Dr. Sreenivasa Rao,
near Head Police Station,
Residency.*

Chaderghat, Residency.

October 2, 1894.

To

NAWAB IMAD JUNG BAHADUR,
JUDICIAL SECRETARY,
*His Highness the Nizam's Government,
Hyderabad.*

The petition of Pandit Bala Krishna Sharma.

Begs to bring to your honour's notice that since a petition was submitted to His Excellency the Minister by Swamies Vishaishwar Ananda Sarasvati and Nityananda Brahmachari complaining of the arbitrary conduct of the Police in respect to themselves and petitioner and reference was made to the Kutwal by you, petitioner has been actually confined in his house by the Police in that he is not permitted to go out of his house and police constables in undress, are guarding the same, though he is not charged with any criminal offence.

Petitioner brings to your notice that when his pleader Mr. Ramachandra Pillay called to see him and petitioner wanted to go to Residency, the police prevented him from doing so and even kept Mr. Ramchandra Pillay in custody for over two hours till he informed the Kutwal who at once directed his release. He has lodged a complaint before the Kutwal.

The Kutwal makes Mr. Ramachendra Pillay believe that petitioner is kept under police surveillance for his own safety. Petitioner never requested the Kutwal to protect his person and keep him a prisoner; for the treatment he is receiving is nothing short of the fate of a man charged with a heinous offence.

From what the Kutwal has informed your honour it would appear that he is accused of having in his possession a book criticising Mohammadanism and nothing more. This as your honour knows is no offence, even if true, which petitioner emphatically denies or that he ever preached or discussed on Mohammadanism as he is prepared to prove. He is not even released on bail and yet the police clearly informed Mr. Ramchendra Pillay and so did Nawab Akbar Jung Bahadur that Petitioner was not charged with any offence or that he was in custody. Petitioner respectfully craves your honour to submit this petition to H.E. the Minister for his immediate release as he is not charged with any offence, still less has he committed any.

Petitioner loudly prays for justice and redress against such un-precedented act of Zulum on the part of the police, which is the outcome of false and malicious rumours circulated not by Mohammadans but by Hindus of a different sect from petitioner and who have instigated some Mohammadans to petition against the petitioner. The Kutwal has pledged himself in writing and he will not deny, if he is asked to support the said Hindu sect against petitioner's samaj and hence all the Zulum that petitioner is subjected to and for which he will ever pray.

(Sd.) RAMCHENDRA PILLAY
for *Petitioner*.

Hyderabad.

16th October 1894.

Another development was the institution of the Ganesh Utsav celebrations in the year 1895 for the first time in the city. The Ganesh Utsav had recently been started on a large scale in Maharashtra through the inspiration of Loka Manya Tilak. These celebrations became popular in a short time and spread in all parts of Maharashtra. These celebrations generally lasted for more than a week and consisted of Bhajans, Melas and lectures on various topics of interest. They thus afforded the best means for public awakening. The Ganesh Utsav celebrations in 1895 on a public scale were held in the city of Hyderabad in two places, one at Shah Ali Banda and the other at Chaderghat. The Ganesh Utsav at Shah Ali Banda was due to the initiative taken by Shiyram Shastry Gore and the Chaderghat celebration was organised by students.

The starting of the Ganesh Utsav and the Arya Samaj Movement was a very good means of rousing public opinion in the State. Their importance in the evolution of public opinion in Hyderabad cannot be over-emphasised. They provided virtually a training ground for workers in constructive action. Among those who joined the Arya Samaj in its early days were Sri Keshav Rao Koratkar, who came over from Gulbarga and started practising in the courts of Hyderabad in the year 1896. In the following decade the Arya Samaj received great encouragement at the hands of Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya, Sri Keshav Rao Koratkar and Pandit Sripad Damodhar Satwalekar. Sri Keshav Rao Koratkar was very soon to become a great pioneer of political, social and educational reforms in the State.

Meanwhile Mulla Abdul Qayum Khan who had very cordial relations with Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya and was a staunch supporter of the Congress was carrying on his activities in the political and educational fields. The career of this remarkable man who brought about a great awakening in Hyderabad will be told in the following chapter.

CHAPTER V.

MULLA ABDUL QAYUM

Mulla Abdul Qayum was born in the year 1853 at Madras. He spent his early childhood in Mysore. His family had settled in Hyderabad when Abdul Qayum was 8 years old. He had his education in the famous school *Darul-Ullum* where he had a thorough grounding in Persian and Arabic. After leaving the school he went to Mirzapur in U.P. where he completed his education in Arabic and Persian. On his return to Hyderabad Mulla Abdul Qayum joined the service in the Survey and Settlement Department in 1875. Early in his life he started taking interest in public affairs. At this time due to the reforms promulgated by Salar Jung I, a number of talented persons had joined service in Hyderabad. Among these was Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya who was appointed as the principal of the Chaderghat College. Mulla Abdul Qayum came into contact with Dr. Aghornath in about 1880. A friendship sprang up between the two which was to last till Abdul Qayum's death in 1906. Both Dr. Aghornath and Abdul Qayum were responsible for public awakening in Hyderabad in the last two decades of the 19th century.

At this time Mulla Abdul Qayum and his friends started a Society known as *Ikhwan-us-Sufa*. The Society used to hold a monthly meeting in which lectures on educational and social reform were argued. A monthly magazine was also published by the Society wherein these problems were discussed by competent scholars.

After serving for some time in the Survey and Settlement Department Abdul Qayum joined the staff of Mohsin-ul-Mulk in the work of the compilation of the gazettes for Hyderabad. He was in charge of the Persian Section. During the course of his work in the Gazette Section he got an opportunity to study the history of India and Middle-East countries. Soon he was appointed as the Assistant Director in the Education Department.

While Mulla Abdul Qayum was in the Education Department the Chanda Railway Scheme initiated by the Government of Hyderabad attracted considerable attention

amongst the educated people of Hyderabad. A Committee under the lead of Dr. Aghornath and Mulla Abdul Qayum started an agitation against the negotiations being carried on by the then Regency Council of Hyderabad with the British Government for the extension of the railway line from Secunderabad to Bezwada and Kazipet to Chanda. As has been referred to in the earlier volume the agitation was suppressed and Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya was deported from Hyderabad and Abdul Qayum had to leave for Madras for a short period.

On his return to Hyderabad Abdul Qayum enthusiastically welcomed the establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885. He was one of the earliest in Hyderabad to enrol himself as a member of the Indian National Congress. Dr. Aghornath who had in the meanwhile been allowed to return to Hyderabad became a staunch supporter of that body. The policy of the Nizam's Administration was against the Congress. But Abdul Qayum wrote a series of articles in the local newspaper *Safir-e-Deccan* in the year 1888 in support of the Congress for which he was severely warned by the Government.

While Mulla Abdul Qayum was working in the Education Department, he formulated a scheme for the Compulsory Education of the children of the landlords, Inamdars and Jagirdars of the State. He also suggested a number of reforms in the field of education such as the institution of scholarships, expansion of educational institutions and the opening up of schools with a technical bias. Before these could be achieved he was transferred as a Deputy Commissioner for Inam Enquiry in 1886 and posted to Gulbarga. Due to his efforts in the field of education a school for the children of the Jagirdars and Inamdars known as *Madras-e-Sardaran* was inaugurated at Gulbarga on 14th August 1888 by Sir Asmanjah, the then Prime Minister of Hyderabad. The Government of Hyderabad had as early as 1875 issued a circular calling upon Jagirdars and Inamdars to send their children to the school, penalty for not doing so being the stoppage of their emoluments. The school started by Mulla Abdul Qayum was in existence for some time, but due to the lack of interest shown by the officers who refused to exercise compulsion, it had to be closed down. Mulla Abdul Qayum felt this very deeply and in the year 1894 he published his famous book *A Plea for Compulsory Education* in Urdu which sets up a landmark in the educational development of

Hyderabad. He got into touch with the leading educationalists of the country among whom was the late Sri Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, the Principal of the Ferguson College, Poona, whose pre-eminence in this field Mulla Abdul Qayum acknowledged in grateful terms. The book is divided into 5 chapters:—

1. Why education should be compulsory?
2. Extracts from religious books in support of Compulsory Education.
3. Objections against Compulsory Education and their refutation.
4. Opinions of Philosophers, educationalists of Europe, America and other countries ancient and modern.
5. Progress of education in India and the Deccan.

These chapters were followed by a scheme for Compulsory Education suggested by the author and statistics on educational progress in various countries. Mulla Abdul Qayum's plea for Compulsory Education was supported by weighty arguments culled from religious books and the opinions of leading educationalists. In his book Mulla Abdul Qayum had listed the various objections raised against the introduction of Compulsory Education and refuted them. These objections were posed by him as follows:—

1. The Government of India have not launched the scheme of Compulsory Education yet. It is, therefore not necessary for this scheme to be taken up in the native States.
2. Introduction of Compulsory Education will spread discontent amongst the people, hence it is not advisable to inaugurate the scheme.
3. The scheme is premature.
4. The element of compulsion may produce an adverse reaction.
5. The scheme of compulsion would invite violation and consequent penalty which is not advisable.
6. Compulsion indicates an interference in the rights of the family and as such not desirable.
7. The scheme would be costly and would be beyond the means of the Government.
8. As a result of Compulsory Education, the educated people would incite insurrection and rebellion against the

Government. The prestige of the Government officers will no longer be maintained.

9. General education would remove the distinction between the men of noble blood and the common masses.

10. Education would create unemployment and thus encourage discontent.

To each one of these objections Mulla Abdul Qayum has given a fitting reply in his preface to the book. He states, "All governments have their basis only in a well educated and competent community." A Government based on an uneducated public cannot be considered strong. The efficient government derives its support from an enlightened public. In the absence of education, government tends to be tyrannical and dictatorial in its methods. It is good in the interest of the government itself that education should be encouraged, that people should be taught the knowledge of the laws of the country and should have a say in the affairs of the government. The close relations between the nobles and the ruled can only be possible when there is an enlightened public in the State."

Dismissing the plea that education creates unemployment Mulla Abdul Qayum states, "If only education in India had a technical bias, there would have been no unemployment." He made a strong plea for technical and industrial education and condemned the type of education given in British India. Turning out graduates unfitted for the needs of the community, in his opinion, created unemployment.

To the plea that compulsion meant interference with private rights of the family, he answered by saying that compulsion was the only way of raising the standard of the people and dismissed the objection as puerile.

To the objection that the scheme would be costly Mulla Abdul Qayum said, "If a scheme was in the interest of the State, the question of finance should not stand in the way of its introduction."

To the point raised that the agitation of the National Congress was a result of education, he replied as follows:—

"Flatterers and sycophants of the Government and the enemies of the country are against the National Congress.

What evil has National Congress done? What communities has it excited? It has only demanded the rights given by the Government, but denied by selfish officers. Can this be called an illegal act? The opponents of the Congress have been discredited and they have proved to the world that they are not the well-wishers either of the Government or of the people. On the other hand they desire in their selfishness to harm and weaken the Government. To-day a congressman has become a member of the parliament and he is able to get the reforms in education achieved. This has tended to forge strong bonds between the Government and the people. If similar results are achieved in our State what harm could there be, excepting that the tyrannical officers would not have their own way. Due to general education the government will have a strong foundation, the people will be happy and prosperous. There would be no occasion for the British Government to interfere in the State as is happening today due to selfish administrators. Trade and industries will increase and the State will progress on the whole. If these results are bad then education is definitely bad, but if these results are good and to be welcomed then education is good and necessary and for that Compulsory Education is all the more necessary."

To the fear expressed that the distinction between the gentry and the common man will disappear due to the general education Mulla Abdul Qayum replied, "Nobility was derived not from blood, but from character."

In putting a strong plea for Compulsory Education 60 years ago Mulla Abdul Qayum was ahead of his time. His plea at the period fell on the deaf ears of those in authority, but the educated public in Hyderabad hailed Mulla Abdul Qayum's contribution in the field of education as a signal one.

Mulla Abdul Qayum's interest was equally deep and abiding in the history and politics of the Middle-east countries. He closely followed the policies of the Imperial powers, Great Britain and France, which were having a disastrous effect on countries like Turkey and Egypt. Egypt had lost its independence in 1882 and was fully exploited by Great Britain. Turkey was in great difficulties and was being ousted from its possessions in Europe. At this stage

in the year 1894 one Dr. Earnest Hart, a member of the House of Commons arrived in India on the plea that insani-tary conditions in Mecca and Madina were giving rise to epidemics. He wanted restrictions to be placed on the Turkish Government in the regulation of the Haj pilgrims. One of the major suggestions made by him was that the body well Zum Zum should be closed as it was one of the causes of the outbreak of epidemics. A meeting was got up by him in Hyderabad in the Public Gardens which was attended by the Resident and the Prime Minister Nawab Vigar-ul-Omrah. After the speech of Dr. Hart, Mulla Abdul Qayum got up and made a slashing attack on the suggestions of Dr. Hart which he characterized as interference in the religious practices of the Muslims and calculated to affect the sovereign rights of Turkey. So strong was the reaction produced by Mulla Abdul Qayum's speech at the meeting that Dr. Hart had to depart from Hyderabad disappointed in his mission.

In the field of education Mulla Abdul Qayum was responsible for the starting of the great Research Centre *Dairat-ul-Maurif* in 1891. This institution has during the course of the last 70 years edited rare Arabic Manuscripts and has earned a reputation for a high standard of scholarship at home and abroad. Mulla Abdul Qayum was also responsible for the establishment of a State Central Library in 1892.

In the year 1898 when War broke out in the Balkans all Turks in the island of Crete were suffering hardships Mulla Abdul Qayum started a fund to help them. This attempt of Abdul Qayum was successful and attracted wide support throughout the country.

While Abdul Qayum was working as Collector at Ling-sugur, the epidemic of plague made its appearance in the district of Raichur as in other parts of the State in about 1898. Arrangements for the control of the plague through inoculation and segregation of the population were entrusted to Dr. Lary, the Director of the Medical Services, who was appointed as Plague Commissioner with Mr. Stevenson as his deputy. Mulla Abdul Qayum tried his best to assist the people of the district in this calamity. Where he was convinced that the plague had appeared in the villages, he arranged for the smooth evacuation of the population, got shelters constructed for them and otherwise looked after their conveniences. The subordinate staff of the plague Department

harassed the people without sufficient grounds and verification. They ordered the evacuation of the people from the villages and left them to shift for themselves in sun and rain. Mulla Abdul Qayum strongly protested against this callous attitude of the plague officials with the result that the European Officers became hostile to him. Mulla Abdul Qayum was recalled to Hyderabad and a Commission was appointed to inquire into the allegations made by the Plague officials against him. The stand of Abdul Qayum was completely vindicated and the allegations of the Plague Department appeared baseless. Due to the influence of the Europeans, the Government of Hyderabad was forced to retire him on pension in the year 1901.

After his retirement Abdul Qayum threw himself heart and soul into the problems of the nation. He wrote strongly in support of the Congress and attended the sessions at Madras and Banaras. The Turkish Government was at that time undertaking the construction of the railway from Damascus to Madina. Mulla Abdul Qayum started the Hejas Railway Construction Fund. He toured the country, delivered a number of lectures and succeeded in collecting considerable sums which were remitted to Turkey. What was more valuable than the material assistance given, Abdul Qayum succeeded in focussing the attention of the Moham-medans of India towards the problems of Turkey and its struggle for survival against European exploitation. For his efforts in promoting the Hejas Railway Construction Abdul Qayum received the thanks of the Turkish Government. Abdul Qayum attended the Congress Session at Banaras in 1905 and spoke in support of removing restrictions placed on pilgrims proceeding to the Hejaz. The speech he made at Banaras reveals the catholicity of his outlook and a strong affection he evinced for the National Congress as a secular organization. He was criticised bitterly for joining the Congress but he never wavered and in the year 1905 he issued a strong pamphlet "Indian National Congress and the Muslims," wherein he has justified the entry of Muslims into the Congress.

The criticisms levelled against Mulla Abdul Qayum appearing in the Urdu paper *Mukhabar-e-Deccan*, Madras, were strongly refuted by Abdul Munim, the son of Mulla Abdul Qayum. The reply of Abdul Munim appeared in the *Paisa*, a newspaper of Lahore. This was referred to by *The*

Tribune of Lahore in its issue of 26th June, 1906. The article appearing in *The Tribune* is reproduced below:—

“MUHAMMADANS AND THE CONGRESS.—Mulla Abdul Qayum, of Hyderabad (Deccan), is a Muhammadan gentleman of an India-wide fame. He is a profound Arabic and Persian scholar, and has, of all his Indian co-religionists, collected perhaps the largest sum of money in aid of the Hejas Railway. He has, however, the misfortune of being a Congressman, and has attended most of the sessions of the informal Parliament of India. It was chiefly at his instance that the Banaras Congress adopted a resolution in December last asking the Government to discontinue requiring pilgrims to Mecca to undergo quarantine at Bombay. Strangely enough this has set a certain section of his community, of which he is one of the worthiest members and a most zealous servant, against him; and for some time past there have been rancorous attacks against him and the Congress in different Muhammadan newspapers. The latest of these tirades appeared in the *Mukhabar-e-Deccan*, and has called forth from Munshi Abdul Munim, of Hyderabad, a vigorous and cogent reply which is published in the *Paisa Akhbar* of Lahore and a summary of which is given below, matters of a personal character being entirely eliminated.

‘The writer in the *Mukhabar-e-Deccan* is wholly wrong in calling the Indian National Congress a Hindu propaganda. The Congress is a political society, of which all Indian subjects of the British Government, whether Hindus or Muhammadans, Parsis or Christians, Jains or Buddhists, can become members. It is to be regretted that the leaders of Mussalmans should not enquire into the how and why of a thing, and have become so enamoured of imitation that all reasoning and arguments are lost on them. All that they do is to follow the late Sir Sayad Ahmed Khan, whom they consider to have been infallible, and whose opinions, they believe, the changes of time cannot affect. Ask those who deny that the Congress is a national political institution, to adduce logical reasons in support of their contention, and they can say nothing sensible in reply. Equally untenable is the writer’s contention that as Hindus and Mussalmans profess different religions they cannot work shoulder to shoulder in the Congress camp. Personal and religious differences cannot stand in the way of National and Political union, for the reason that the promotion of the wealth and the welfare of a

country is the common interest of all its inhabitants. As to the statement that in the event of the Congress undertaking anything against them, the Prophet's followers will have to go to the wall, and their numerical and intellectual superiority will ensure the victory to the Hindus, it is a chimera, pure and simple. It is an established rule that no question calculated to wound the feelings of any community can, on any account be brought before the Congress.

Another difficulty the writer in the *Mukhabar* sees in the way of Muhammadans working with Hindus is that, should Government show undue favours to the followers of Islam Hindus express their displeasure at this. In proof of this he refers to the conduct of Hindus in connection with the partition of Bengal, the abolition of competitive examinations and the lowering of the educational test (for the Muhammadans of East Bengal) in respect of the Pleaders' examination. In the first place, however, it is a gross mistake of principle for any Government to make undue concessions in favour of any class of its subjects, for the reason that by doing away with competition and employing incompetent persons in its service, it places both the administration and society in danger. Again, it is contrary to justice and fair play to appoint less able persons to public posts over the heads of their betters. But the worst of it is that such proceedings create estrangement between the class thus favoured and the rest of their fellow-countrymen, which feelings no civilised State ought to be guilty of fostering. Besides, the showing of such favours to a community is calculated to prove injurious to its best interests, because they help to keep it ignorant and prevent it from making efforts to move on. The whole civilised world is agreed that competition is the only and great secret of progress; and consequently it is a gross mistake on the part of Indian Muhammadans to regard favours like the above as being beneficial to them, and base the opposition to the Congress on them. As regards the Partition of Bengal, even if it is admitted that it has been effected by the Government with the object of helping a few incompetent Muhammadans by taking them in the public service, no sensible follower of Islam can feel gratified at the event. The New administration will cost several lakhs of rupees, and as Mussalmans form the majority of the population of East Bengal the greater part of the expenditure will have to be borne by them. It is, moreover, a mistaken impression that the authorities will always go on treating the Prophet's followers with undue partiality. Government possesses strong commonsense, and

if Mussalmans have of late received some favours at its hands they should not count on the continuance thereof.

The *Paisa Akhabar's* correspondent adds that the lowering of the educational test in favour of Muhammadans in regard to the Pleaders' examination in East Bengal cannot benefit either themselves or the country or Government. If Mussalman lawyers came to consist of incompetent men the community should feel sorry and not pleased at this, for the reason that men of their stamp will not be able to win fame or wealth, safeguard the rights of their clients, or help the courts in the administration of justice. And if the supporters of the Congress express indignation at, and oppose, such proceedings they do so not because the changes are calculated to benefit the followers of Islam, but because the same are likely to prove injurious to the interests of the country.

Another objection urged against Muhammadans joining the Congress is that owing to their forming a minority their rights will be trampled upon by that body, although it is difficult to understand how. The writer in the *Paisa Akhabar* cannot see what rights of theirs can be adversely affected through the above cause, seeing that the Congress discusses only questions which equally affect and interest all sections of the population. Besides, when the smallness of their number injures the Parsis in no way, how can any injury be inflicted on Mussalmans, who are far stronger numerically than the former? In reply to this some of the anti-Congressionists are in the habit of saying that the Parsis being far better educated and abler are in a position to safeguard their rights effectively. And if this is so the question is one of ability and not of numerical strength; while here again the position of the Prophet's followers is untenable. There is no dearth of able men in the community, many of the members of which even now enjoy the confidence of both the authorities and the public owing to their sound judgement and high intellectual gifts.

Muhammadan supporters of the Congress are called shameless, on the ground that they hear Moslem rulers of India spoken ill of in the Congress pandal, and see the rights of their co-religionists trampled upon. In the first place, however, no evil is spoken of the said kings; and in the next, to criticise particular action of any one of them can never mean insulting the prophet's faith. There have been many tyrannical kings among the Mussalmans. As to the assertion that the rights of the Muhammadans are trampled upon on the Congress platform, the *Paisa Akhabar's*

correspondent wishes to know what these rights are and how they are treated in the manner alleged. He can however say that the anti-congressionists do wish to deprive Hindus of their rights, inasmuch as although, according to their own confession, they are an incompetent lot they would prevent abler Hindus from entering the public service, and ask of the Government for under served favours for themselves. In short, Muhammadans have always opposed the Congress with the sole object of securing Government posts for their co-religionists at the expense of competent Hindus. It is to be regretted that their leaders should have, in the mistaken belief of serving them, proclaimed them to be brainless fellows and cowards, and thereby lowered them in the estimation of the other people. Nor is this all. They have been prevented from exerting themselves to better their lot, while for their means of livelihood and prosperity they have been made dependent on foreign people. To incline the community to a degrading and limited source of support like the public service and make it regard agriculture, commerce and industries with feelings of aversion is like dealing with it in a most dishonest manner.' ”

Mulla Abdul Qayum was a staunch advocate of Swadeshi. In league with his friend Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya he started the Swadeshi agitation in Hyderabad in 1905. He also took a keen interest in the Ganesh Utsav celebrations of 1906 at the invitation of Mr. Keshav Rao Koratkar.

Shortly after, Mulla Abdul Qayum died on 27th of October, 1906. The late Srimati Sarojini Naidu paid a well deserved tribute in 1941 (June, 19) to the memory of Abdul Qayum who was a great friend of her father in the following words:—

“ How happy I am to add a flower of affection to the memorial garland woven by many hands in honour of my father's beloved friend Mulla Abdul Qayum Saheb, whose picturesque figure and fascinating personality are integral parts of my earliest childish recollections.

Seldom have two persons divided by such divergent circumstances of birth, education, racial heritage and religious tradition achieved such perfect friendship as these two gifted and distinguished people.

Both were men of vigorous intellect and versatile knowledge, nobility of character and righteousness of conduct. Both were kindled by the fire of deep moral indignation

against every force of falsehood, injustice and tyranny. Both were sustained and inspired by a radiant and invincible faith in the redemption of humanity from the tragic evils of ignorance, poverty, exploitation and oppression. Above all both were patriots loving India with a passionate and prescient devotion and a prophetic vision of her freedom from bondage.

I was too young in those far-off years to understand clearly or appreciate correctly the significance of their passion and their faith; nor was I able to realise till long afterwards that men like these were among the first though perhaps not among the most famous pioneers of the Indian Renaissance.

When the Indian National Congress was founded Mulla Saheb eagerly enrolled himself as a member and with true missionary zeal preached to members to join and take the proper share in the building of a new India, based on unity and crowned with life-giving liberty.

He was not only the messenger but the living message of Hindu-Muslim Unity. At a time more than fifty years ago when, and especially in an Indian State, the mere whisper of patriotic sentiment was accounted sedition, it required rare courage to proclaim aloud as he did his dream and hope and purpose for his country's progress and political emancipation.

To-day when by some strange and sinister irony of history the country is torn asunder by the shame and sorrow of unreasoning and destructive communal war how marvellously does it renew our strength and restore our courage to remember this brave and generous hearted man; scholar, soldier, patriot and pilgrim who always sought the truth and strove to follow it like a star.

My love and my homage to the memory of my father's friend Mulla Abdul Qayum Saheb. Great Muslim, great Indian and great Man."¹

In 1905 Mulla Abdul Qayum inspired a number of young people like Moulavi Mohamed Akbar Ali, Moulavi Mohamed Mazhar and others to start an association called *Anjuman-e-Marif* which had the aim of developing the social, intellectual and economic life of Hyderabad. A monthly known as *Sahifa* was also started under the editorship of Mr. Akbar Ali. One of the last articles which Abdul Qayum wrote in this magazine dealt with the Prophets of the Hindus.

1. Extracted from files preserved in the Central Records Office, Hyderabad-Deccan.

CHAPTER VI

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

Sir Asmanjah, the Prime Minister, resigned in the year 1893 and was succeeded by Sir Viqar-ul-Omrah. In that year the Nizam promulgated a set of rules known as "The Qanoon-Cha-i-Mubarak."

"It is an exhaustive document of great importance in which the Nizam has reviewed the past administration of his State, with an insight that may do credit to any ruler.

He next set out in detail the major defects of the existing system demanding immediate attention, and the scheme of his reforms, conducive to the peace, contentment, and happiness of his subjects, was adumbrated. Finally His Highness emphasised certain principles to be particularly observed in the new system, and while declaring that "the character of a Government could only be judged by the extent of its contribution to public peace and prosperity as well as to a solvent exchequer". His Highness enjoyed scrupulous observance of all the administrative principles he had laid down to ensure the fulfilment of the above ideals.

The important features of the new scheme were the institution of a Cabinet Council for executive business, and a Legislative Council for the purpose of framing laws, in place of the Council of State, which was an executive and Legislative body combined, but which seldom met and hardly transacted any business. The Cabinet Council was a consultative body, composed of the Prime Minister, the Peshkar, and the departmental Ministers, the Prime Minister being the President. All matters of administrative importance were to be referred to this Council for settlement, as also were any matters on which there might be a difference of opinion between the departmental Ministers and the Prime Minister. Certain classes of business were specially reserved for the consideration of the Cabinet Council, such as the annual State budget, final disposal of cases for report on which special commissions had been appointed, questions relating to state concessions, important question arising out of the proceedings of the Legislative Council, and any other matters which from time to time were considered proper for the Council to deliberate upon. The Prime Minister,

as President of the Council, had the right of over-ruling any decision arrived at by a Majority of the Council subject to the Nizam's consent.

Rules were issued clearly defying the duties and powers of the Cabinet Council, the Prime Minister, the Peshkar, and the departmental Ministers. The distribution of work among them was as follows:—

The Prime Minister had under his own supervision Finance, Political, Revenue, Stamps, Mint, Post Offices, Regular Troops and stud.

The Peshkar was in charge of the Imperial Services and Irregular Troops.

The Minister for Justice and Public Affairs had justice, Jails, Registration, Medical, Religious Institutions, and the Court of Wards.

The Minister of Police and Public Works had Police, Public Works (including Railways and Mines), Municipalities and Sanitation.

There were six Secretaries in charge of Finance and Revenue, Judicial, Police and General, Public Works, Military, Private Secretariat, and Daftar-i-Mulki (Persian) respectively.

In the year 1898 the main principles of the new scheme in the form of a few simple rules, excluding unnecessary details, and embodying such modifications as the five years working of the new constitution had suggested were promulgated.

..... Under the scheme promulgated in 1893 a Legislative Council was constituted, consisting of the Chief Justice, a puisne judge of the High Court, the Inspector-General of Revenue, the Director of Public Instruction, the Inspector-General of Police, and the Secretary, and rules were laid down to guide its work. The Legislative Council thus constituted met only three times under the presidency of the Late Nawab Fakhr-ul-Mulk Bahadur, the then Judicial Minister.

His Highness soon found the weaknesses of such a constitution and set to reform the system of legislation, for which

he expressly declared his great solicitude, with a view to provide good and useful laws for his subjects. The Legislative Council was then re-constituted on an altogether new and reformed basis. It was to consist, in addition to the Prime Minister who was its President, and the Minister of the department to which the measures under consideration might belong as Vice-President, of three ex-officio members, and 12 nominated members, of whom six were to be officials and the rest non-officials. The six non-official members were to be returned in the following manner: Jagirdars and zamindars were, as one class, allowed to elect 2 representatives from among themselves, the High Court Bar was also privileged to elect two of its members, and the Prime Minister nominated two persons from the remaining non-official classes who could be organised, at the time, into a constituency for the purpose of electing their own representatives.

The Council thus reformed met for the first time on 6th May 1894, under the presidency of the Prime Minister Sir Vikar-ul-Umra, who opened the proceedings with an address, in which he laid stress on the honour conferred on the members of the Council by their investment with the important work of legislation, and pointed out the necessity of their giving careful and close attention to the proper legislation of laws, while promising his own unreserved assistance in the onerous task on which they were embarking.

In 1900 a Legislative Council Act was passed giving the Council larger and wider powers of legislation.

The Legislative Council as thereafter re-formed and after the introduction of the Cabinet system of government under a President instead of Prime Minister as hitherto, consisted of a President, a Vice-President and 19 members, two of whom were extraordinary. The President of the Legislative Council as well, and the Member whose department was concerned with the bill under consideration acted as Vice-President in the absence of the President. Of the members, eleven were official, three being ex-officio, namely the Chief Justice of the High Court of Judicature, the Judicial Secretary, and the Legal adviser to His Exalted Highness' Government, who also acted as Secretary to the Council. Of the remaining, six were non-officials, of whom two were returned by the Jagirdars, whose hereditary rights were free from encumbrances and yielded a net annual income of Rs. 6,000, two from the High Court Bar elected from

among the members of the Bar Association, and two nominated by the President—one from each of the Paigahs in turn, and the other from the general public. The two extraordinary members were appointed from among persons who, by their special knowledge, were likely to help the deliberations of the Council. The term of membership was two years the members being eligible for re-election or re-nomination.

No bill or motion affecting the public revenues, or the religion of any class of His Exalted Highness' subjects, or the organisation of His Exalted Highness' army or the relations of His Exalted Highness' Government with the British Government, or the Act relating to the Legislative Council could be introduced without the previous permission of the President of the Executive Council.

While undertaking any legislative measure the Council was enjoined to keep in view the principles of Muslim Law, the tenents of Hindu Shahtras, the special laws of the communities residing in the Dominions, and the customs and usages having the forces of law.

Any contentious measure, before it became law, had ordinarily to pass through the following stages:—

(1) Notice for leave to introduce a bill, followed by its formal introduction and publication for criticism.

(2) Reference of the bill, with any opinions received, to a Select Committee, where the details are scrutinized, suggestions are considered, and the draft is amended.

(3) Consideration in Council of the Select Committee's report, and of any further amendments that may be brought forward.

(4) Motion that the bill, as amended, be passed.

(5) Submission of the bill to the Nizam as passed followed by its final publication as an Act.

In the case of non-contentious bills some of these steps were omitted. There was often no need for waiting for criticism of such a measure or referring it to a select committee, and it was accepted without amendment.

No Act of the Council, nor any power granted to it, could in any way affect the rights and prerogatives of His

Exalted Highness the Nizam as the supreme ruler of the State; and no bill or motion even though passed by the Council could have the effect of law unless it had received the assent of His Exalted Highness the Nizam.”¹

Thus the Legislative Council with very limited powers was set up as a result of these reforms. In practice this Council used to meet for very brief periods. The limited scope of the Council and the very limited representation to non-officials in it soon created a general feeling of dissatisfaction among the educated public. Meanwhile the Government of Hyderabad which had made an offer of material contribution towards Imperial Defences was being asked to form a defence corps and was being continuously reminded by the Government of India to bring the plan into operation. The offer made by the Hyderabad Government of material contribution was not liked by the people, who still remembered the loss of the Peshkash from the Northern Sircars on account of the Palmer & Company transactions and the loss of Berar on account of the Contingent Forces. When the full quota for the defence corps was not forthcoming from Hyderabad it was believed that Sarwar Jung, one time tutor of the Nizam was responsible for the hesitation and delay. As a result of strong pressure exerted by the Resident Mr. Plowdon, Sarwar Jung was asked to leave the State in 1897. It will thus be seen to what length the interference of the Resident in the internal affairs of Hyderabad had come to operate. The appointment of Viqar-ul-Omrah as Prime Minister of Hyderabad in 1893 was also the result of strong pressure exerted by the Resident in favour of that nobleman. The educated class had continued to grow. The Nizam College had come into existence in 1887 and a number of graduates passed out of it every year. A number of clubs, literary institutions and societies were also started. Libraries in the regional languages of the State now began to be established. The Bharat Guna Vardhak Samstha, a Marathi Library at Shah Ali Bunda in Hyderabad, was established in the year 1895. The Press also continued its bold criticism against the administration in the State and against the British policies in India and in the Middle-east countries. Some journals now began to appear in Marathi and Telugu in the city and in the districts. A mention may be made of *Gulbarga Samachar*, *Nizam Vaibhav*, *Bhageshya Nagar*, *Sri Bhageshya*

1. *A History of Administrative Reforms in Hyderabad State* by M. Fathulla Khan, p. 79, et seqq.

Vijaya and *Champawati* in Marathi and *Dina Vartaman* in Telugu. These had a limited circulation, but they were indicative of the growing interest of the reading public in the State. Among the English journals *The Hyderabad Telegraph* had started publication in 1886; *The Deccan Standard* in 1889; *The Deccan Times* and *The Hyderabad Record* in 1891; *The Deccan Budget* in 1897 and *The Deccan Mail* in 1898. At the end of the century only *The Hyderabad Chronicle* was in existence. The difficulties of the Press owing to restrictions imposed by the government could well be imagined, but taken collectively the Press of the day, both English and Urdu, played a notable part in the public awakening in Hyderabad during the last two decades of the 19th century.

Before the century came to a close Hyderabad witnessed two sensational events arising out of the activities of Maratha revolutionaries in the State. The first was the arrival in Raichur in 1898 of Balakrishna Hari Chafekar, accused of the murders of Col. Ryand and Ayrest in Poona and the second the insurrection of Rao Saheb *alias* Baba Saheb in the district of Bhir in the year 1898-99.

CHAPTER VII

ARREST OF BALAKRISHNA HARI CHAFEKAR

In the year 1897 Balakrishna Hari Chafekar involved in the murder of Ryand and Ayrest in Poona was arrested by Mr. Stephenson in the district of Raichur. For this arrest the Hyderabad Police received a reward from the Government of Bombay. Balakrishna Hari Chafekar seems to have stayed for more than six months in the hills between Kopbal and Gangawati in the district of Raichur. He attracted a great deal of sympathy from the local people. In his report Mr. Stephenson has stated that in view of the strong sympathy which existed for Chafekar in the district of Raichur, it had become very difficult for him to obtain dependable information about the whereabouts of Balakrishna Hari Chafekar. The following papers relate to the affairs of Balakrishna Chafekar¹:—

“ From:

A. C. Hankin, Esq., C.I.E.,
Inspector-General of Police and Jails,
His Highness the Nizam's Dominions,
Hyderabad-Dn.

To

The Secretary to Government,
Judicial, Police and General Departments,
H. H. N. D.

Dated Camp, 7th January, 1899.

SIR,

Some months ago I got information of the whereabouts of Balakrishna Hari Chafekar one of the murderers of Messrs Ryand and Ayrest from my assistant Mr. Stephenson, the head of the Detective Department. I communicated with the Bombay Police, and got copies of the proclamation in which a reward of Rs. 10,000 was offered.

1. File No. 590 of 1897 regarding Balakrishna Hari Chafekar's arrest, Home Department, Government of Hyderabad.

Mr. Stephenson at once set about planning his arrest, and in a short time brought his informers up to me, and from the conversation we had there was very little doubt in our minds that the arrest of this man was now a certainty but perhaps a matter of time. I was so completely satisfied with all the arrangements and had such implicit trust in my assistant that I handed the whole case over to him to work out to the end and he deserves the whole credit. Mr. Stephenson worked with that zeal, and industry which has characterised his whole career both in Berar, and the Nizam's Dominions.

The case required a deal of patience, and his patience has been rewarded, for, Balakrishna Hari Chafekar has been fully identified by the Poona Police. The ways and means adopted by Mr. Stephenson were numerous, and original but need not be gone into details. The anxiety of the past two or three months lest he should fail has quite knocked him up. For more than a month he lived like a native of the country, had no tent, or furniture.

The thanks of the government are due to Mr. Stephenson for his energy and zeal in this case and I trust that His Excellency the Minister will ask the Resident to get the thanks of the Bombay Government for this excellent piece of work which is most creditable to the Nizam's police. Had this Balakrishna Hari not been arrested, doubtless, a slur would have been cast on the Nizam's police. Now that he has been arrested the praise that is due should be freely given.

Balakrishna Hari Chafekar was, when arrested, disguised as a Rohilla, and for the past eleven months has associated with a gang of Karwar dacoits and wandered about the Sath Padi Hills. A copy of a statement made by him to Mr. Stephenson is herewith attached.

(Sd.) A. C. HANKIN,
Inspector-General."

Statement of Balakrishna Hari Chafekar:

"On hearing of my brother Damodar being arrested my brother Wasudeo and I absconded from Bombay on the 1st October with Rs. 850 in cash and 25 tolas of gold with us. We took train at the Byculla station taking tickets to Manmad but left the train at the Nasik station where we both, after

resting ourselves, bathed in the river and after visiting several temples we took the train again at Nasik and went on to Bhusaval where we left the train, got something to eat at the Dharamsala outside the Railway Station and knocked about Bhusawal for a day and night and then taking train again came to Hutgi, the junction of the G. I. P. and S. M. Railways. From here we took train and came to Gaduck, a Railway station on the S. M. Railway. From Gaduck, we took tickets and came on to Kopal Railway Station. We entered the town but could not speak the language as the local language was Canarese. So we left the place and taking rest under a tree near the Railway Station we went on to Suepur, a village in the Kopal District of Sir Salar Jung's estate and from there we came to Annagundi. We did not enter the town but remained outside in a mango tope. Several Byragees were coming into Annagundi and I sent my brother Wasudeo with them with the view of obtaining some food. After a little, Wasudeo returned with some rice which was cooked and eaten. Here we remained for a day and then moved to a temple known as Rangnath's Devul near Annagundi. I then sent Wasudeo, my brother, by train from Hospet to Bellary and told him to remain there for some time and, when he got tired, to join me again. Making the Rangnath Temple my headquarters I moved about the hills visiting the villages at Suepore, Augnee, etc., and used to attend the Suepore weekly fair held at that place every Tuesday, and I used to buy sufficient food to last me for a week till the fair came on again. Wasudeo my brother used to visit me again and again going from Bellary to the Rangnath temple. Here I remained for about three months. The reason for my sending Wasudeo to Bellary was that I thought it best to be alone and not incumbered by a lad who could not stand knocking about in the hills. During my wandering I came across a gang of Karwar dacoits with whom I struck up an acquaintance and I used to wander about the Sath Padi Hills with them and they supplied me with food on payment. I remained hidden with them for about eleven months and made particular friends with three of them named Khania, Sunda and Abdool. The day before I was captured my three friends accompanied me from their hiding place in the hills going towards the Gaduck Station. On the way my three friends decamped and a Mohammedan coming up brought me into a camp where I was made a prisoner.

Wasudeo left me at Annagundi going *via* Goa to Bombay

where he was discovered by the police and brought to Anna-gundi where I believe he pointed out the places I had visited and where I had stayed when he had been with me."

(8)

" From:

The Detective Assistant to the Inspector-General
of Police and Jails,

Hyderabad.

To

The Inspector-General of Police,

H.H. the Nizam's Dominion,

Hyderabad-Dn.

No. 84 dated 1st October 1899.

SIR,

With reference to certain correspondence regarding the reward offered for the capture of Balakrishna Chafekar referred to in the Resident's No. 2045 dated 11th September 1899, to the Minister and also in the letter No. 5081, dated 30th August 1899, from the Secretary to Government Bombay to the Resident, Hyderabad, as desired by you in your endorsement dated 25th September 1899 (I have the honour) to submit particulars relative to the two questions raised:—

(a) How Balkrishna came to be arrested?

(b) How and from whence did the information which led to his arrest come into possession of the Hyderabad State Police?

I have in my confidential report already submitted on the case of Balkrishna Hari Chafekar which I forwarded to you fully explained all my actions in the matter, but as the Bombay Government call for explanation on the two above points I have the honour to furnish the following facts in connection with those questions:—

I beg to submit that the detective Police were on Balkrishna's track from the middle of July 1898 to the 16th of December 1898. During those five months, detectives from the Detective Department as well as others specially employed by me, were continually on the move throughout the length and breadth of the Annagondi Raja and Sir Salar

Jung's Estates and part of the Lingsugur district. All my movements having to be carried on with the utmost caution and secrecy owing to the well-known sympathy that on all sides existed with the fugitive, I had to do my travelling mostly by night and often to leave the country cart-road and to go miles across fields and low jungles so as to avoid observation. Working on the information received, to which I shall allude when disposing of the question. (b) raised, I at last came to learn that Balkrishna was in hiding with a desperate band of Yerkula dacoits in the Satpura or seven hills in the jurisdiction of Sir Salar Jung's Estate, all or most of whom were declared outlaws and for a police officer so well-known as I am in those districts it required no small amount of tact and patient working to get myself put into communication with the leaders without rousing fears of their own safety.

Having got so far, my next step was to ascertain in exactly what part of those hills he had found shelter, and leaders with the view of getting them to deliver up Balkrishna. This was the one and only plan that presented itself to me affording any chance of success, as, from the inaccessible nature and extent of those hills, surprising the fugitive or surrounding his retreat with even ever so large a body of police was hopelessly impossible. It would be impossible for anyone not already acquainted with the geography of this part of His Highness the Nizam's Dominions to form any adequate idea of the almost insurmountable difficulties attending the capture of a fugitive amongst the Satpura Hills which from their peculiar formation have from time immemorial afforded and still afford secure and inaccessible retreats for robber gangs. Intersected as those hills are by large and extensive subterranean caves, the passages to which are secrets known only to the robbers themselves and in some of which there are even springs of fresh water, Balkrishna, unless betrayed by the dacoit leaders, might there have safely defied all attempts at capture. Having at last located the exact place where he was in hiding I had myself put into communication with certain parties who were believed to be on friendly terms with the Yerkula dacoits and settled on the promise of a reward of Rs. 600 for them to arrange with the leader of the Yerkula dacoits to have Balkrishna betrayed into my hands which was done in this way.

Those informers having laid their plans it was arranged that the leader of the band was to inform Balkrishna

that, as the police were on his track, it was not possible for them to harbour him any longer and he was advised to make his escape to Goa by taking the train to Gadak Railway Station on the Southern Maratha Railway. Agreeing to this and accompanied by three of the band of dacoits Balkrishna left his hiding place and was conducted by night towards the Gadak Railway Station and on the way, as pre-arranged, at daybreak the party was met by my detectives who were supposed to be on their way to the village of Mandulgery to get posses at the Plague Camp where I was already staying and where I was personating the Plague Doctor. Balkrishna accompanied the party and when near my camp the dacoits made off and Balkrishna having been conducted into my camp was arrested. I think I may say without self-praise that this result was not obtained without the exercise of detective ability coupled with patience, the endurance of hardships and the greatest personal inconvenience, having to spend days concealed in a ruined temple and in native villages, always sleeping on the bare ground and partaking of the common coarse food procurable at villages, to add to which I and my party were exposed to great risk in having to pass through plague-stricken districts. I think it will not be out of place for me here to add that the indefatigable exertion and hard work done by my people in the capture of Balkrishna, was greatly stimulated by the prospective hope of sharing the promised reward.

Now as regards the other question (b) touched on above I think you will concur with me that it is impassable and against all police procedure to divulge the source from which this information was received by the police. I can only say that the information on which I worked and which led to the capture of Balkrishna, came to me as a private and confidential communication, those giving it running great risk owing to the strong Brahmanical feeling at the time in favour of the Chafekar brothers and it was not until a guarantee was obtained by me on behalf of my informer from the Resident at Hyderabad promising immunity from prosecution etc. in connection with the case that I was finally put in possession of the information that led to his being tracked to his retreat in the Satpura hills. Beyond this I regret I can afford no information as from whence and how the information was obtained. With the tragic fate of the Dravids before us the danger attending such disclosures cannot be exaggerated. I have always attributed what success I may have attained in detective work to be greatly due to the fact that

in the whole course of my official career, now counting over a period of five and thirty years, I have kept strenuously to the rule of never divulging the source from which information has reached me.

(Sd.) STEPHENSON
Detective Assistant."

(4)

" No. 2138/283

Dated 5th October 1899

From:

A. C. HANKIN, Esq., C.I.E.,
Inspector-General of Police & Jails,
H.H. the Nizam's Dominions,
Hyderabad-Dn.

To

The Secretary to Govt.,
Police, Judicial and General Depts.,
Hyderabad-Dn.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter No.2868 without date forwarding copy of letter No. 2045 dated 11th September 1899 from the First Assistant Resident, Hyderabad, together with an extract from a letter from the Government of Bombay to the Resident on the subject of the reward for the arrest of Balkrishna Hari Chafekar, and in reply I beg to forward a copy of Mr. Stephenson's report which is as clear as it can be. Mr. Stephenson has not overestimated the difficulties he had to contend with. I was daily kept informed of all that was going on and I know that Mr. Stephenson suffered great hardships that for a man of his age was no little,—he came in utterly worn out in mind and body. The anxiety for success told considerably on him. I trust that with regard to the second point on which the Bombay Government want information the Government will point out to the Resident that this cannot be given. It is the privilege of the police to withhold the name or names of the informers. I have a perfect right to withhold this information. In fact I am solemnly bound to do so, and I feel sure that no attempt will be made to repeat a request

that cannot be complied with. I have the original proclamation sent to me by the Bombay Police, on that Rs. 10,000 was offered for the arrest of Balkrishna but no mention is made that the police must divulge their source of information. If I was to give up my source of information in this case I should never get another case; in fact the delay that has occurred in paying this reward has so shaken the faith of those that worked for us that even now I find it difficult to get information from those parts. I spent over Rs. 2,000 on information for which the Government have held me responsible. I trust that this is the last we shall hear of this and that the money will be paid up at once.

(Sd.) A. C. HANKIN

Inspector General."

In spite of the enquiries made by the Govt. of Bombay the Hyderabad Police refused to reveal the names of the informers who were responsible for the arrest of Balkrishna Hari Chafekar. In the statement of distribution of reward given below the names of the informers have not been mentioned. The episode of the Chafekars will show how strong was the sympathy among the local population for the Chafekars and how deeply were the informers afraid of the revelation of their names. The arrest of Chafekar, which took place at the end of 1898, reveals the movements of Maratha revolutionaries in the State of Hyderabad.

The following statement shows how it was proposed to distribute the amount of the reward:—

No.	Rank	Name	Of what district	Amount of reward	Remark
				Rs.	
1.	Detective Assistant ..	E. J. Stephenson	Hyderabad	3,000	
2.	Mohtamim ..	Ghayas-ood din ..	Lingsugur.	200	
3.	Informer No. 1 ..	..	..	2,000	
4.	Informer No. 2 ..	..	..	1,000	
5.	Informer No. 3 ..	..	..	500	
6.	Jamedars (3) ..	..	..	60	
7.	Dafedar ..	Mohamed Hussain	Lingsugur	10	
8.	Constables (80) ..	..	..	790	
		Due to Government Widows provident fund, H.H. the Nizam's Police	..	1,985	5 6
				504	10 6
					Given as a free gift.
Total Rs. ..				10,000-	0-0

(Sd.) E. J. STEPHENSON

*Detective Assistant to the
Inspector General of Police & Jails.*

CHAPTER VIII.

INSURRECTION OF BABA SAHEB ALIAS RAO SAHEB IN THE DISTRICT OF BHIR

In the year 1898 the district of Bhir was the scene of a great conspiracy and insurrection against the British. This insurrection was headed by a person who went by various names such as Baba, Rao Saheb, Maharaja, Raje Saheb, Vithal Chate and Balwant Jagdamb. It appears that he was in the service of Sirdar families in the Southern Maharratta country. He also seems to have spent some days near about Gwalior. He was well acquainted with English, Urdu, Marathi and Kannada. In 1898 he arrived in Hyderabad and unfolded his scheme for driving the British out of the country through insurrections and armed risings. Two persons in the employ of the Hyderabad Government Kishan Rao and Daji Saheb, and a village official known as Bapu Rao Narsing were assisting him. They went to the district of Osmanabad to enlist sympathy and support for Baba's cause. Baba himself left for Bhir where he stayed with one Shiv Rao, a clerk of the district office, Bhir. Baba succeeded in gathering a band of people round him from Bhir and Aurangabad and tried to seduce the Contingent troops stationed at Mominabad and Aurangabad. As funds were required for his scheme his party committed a number of dacoities in the district of Bhir and collected considerable amount. At last troops were called out and the party was engaged at Soukarwadi on 14th April, 1899. A number of people were killed and about 60 to 70 persons were arrested. Baba left the district of Bhir and was heard of at Amravati in Berar in 1902, after which all trace of him was lost. The activities of Baba were similar to those of the noted Maharratta revolutionary Wasudeo Balwant Phadke. The associates of Baba were tried and many among them were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. The motives behind the insurrection and its progress are brought out clearly in the following reports, letters and the statements of witnesses¹:—

1. From the "File of Baba" from Central Records Office, Government of Hyderabad, Hyderabad-Dn.

(1)

Letter dated 22nd June 1899 from A. C. Hankin, Esqr., C.I.E., Inspector General of Police and Jails, H. H. the Nizam's Dominions, Hyderabad, to the Inspectors-General of Police, Bombay, C. P., N. W. P., Punjab and Madras, General Supdt., Thagi and Dakaiti, Simla, First Asst. Resident, Hyderabad (through the Secretary to the Govt. of H. H. the Nizam's Police Department) :—

“ I have the honour to send you herewith a descriptive roll of a Brahman who lately visited these Dominions, and endeavoured to stir up ill-feeling and make the people believe that the British *Raj* was about to end and that of the Brahmins to begin. He successfully worked on the feelings of the *badmashes*, and very soon got together a gang of 100 strong who committed dacoities, highway robberies, etc. This gang was promptly dealt with, and the majority arrested and several were shot. There is nothing to fear from the few ill-advised fools who are still at large; but this Brahmin may attempt similar games elsewhere, and it is not unlikely that he may attempt to spread his views amongst sepoy of Native Regiments. My idea is whenever he is heard of again it will be in a Native State or possibly in an out of the way Cantonment. He is probably from Poona and of the Chapeker style. If found he should be carefully watched, and I communicated with by wire.

(Sd.) A. C. HANKIN, I.G.P. ”

(2)

“ Dated 22nd June, 1899.

My dear Azeez Mirza,

I send you a copy of this confidentially. I have written confidentially to all. This is the Baba (Brahmin) who started the Bir business. Please do not let this letter go into your office, but just show it to the Minister. I am sorry to say that many officials (all Brahmins) are mixed up in this affair, who will have to be dealt with hereafter when I submit a special report. I believe he got so far as to get in with the guard over the Treasury at Bhir.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) A. C. HANKIN ”

(3)

Descriptive roll of a Brahmin who went by the name Baba, Rao Saib, Maharaj, Raja Saib, Vital Chater and Balwanth Jugdamb.

"Age about 30 years, Height about 5 feet, 7 or 8 inches. Very fair. Flatish and smooth face. Very thick black beard and moustaches. Well made and having a soldierlike appearance, something like a well brought up Rajput of upper India, more of the Punjabi style. Has a very high and broad forehead, divides his beard in the middle and curling it up on both sides as the Punjabi Sikhs do. He often, however, allows his beard to take its natural position and it hangs down on his chest. Has long hair on his head but wears the Brahminical *chotee* of hair which is longer than the hair of his head. Both his ears are bored as also the upper usual *Ballee* hole in the right ear. Has two deep wrinkles on his forehead. Not very large eyes. Had good even teeth but in the upper jaw several of the teeth seemed separated from the other. This was visible when he laughed. Used to wear a *longotee*, not the usual piece of cloth which is generally used by a native but a regular stitched and made up one. When he wore a *Dhotee* he tied it round his waist as the Arab do their *lungees*. Wears the usual *Janva* (Braminical thread) as also a *Rudra Mala* (head necklace) round his neck never used *Chandan* or performed any Hindu *Pujah* rites of any description whatever. Used no tobacco not even snuff or was he in the habit of taking *Pan Suparee*. Speaks English, Marathi, Urdu, Kanarese. He speaks Urdu with an up-country tongue.

Bears the usual coat and breeches worn by Poona Brahmins. Some of the breeches are made in the Hindusthani Mohamedan style, tight from the knee downwards. Always wore the Punjabi *Putka* which he generally pushed back to allow the hair of his head to appear over his forehead. This *Putka* he wore right over his ears. When he had not his *Putka* on, he wore a *Dhata* made of white cloth, which he wore like a Rhatore of Marwar. When he had this *Dhata* tied round his face very little of his features were visible. He generally wore a white *Putka* but sometimes a coloured one. Had a pair of black riding long boots, also two or three pairs of brown boots and a pair of steel spurs. Wore socks when he put on boots but not otherwise. Had a very large *Samber* skin (tanned) on which he used to sit. *Note:—* He had not this skin with him when he was at Bir but at Aurangabad.

Had a silver *Lota* and glass or cup. The *Lota* would contain about $1\frac{1}{4}$ *paves* of water. He always drank water out of this cup. Used to go in for athletic exercises, used dumb bells which were made of black wood. Used to practice walking and running, used to ride camels and was a very good horseman and could ride long distances. Had a small box of mathematical instruments which were in a box about 6 inches long. The lining of this box was of blue plush. The other cover was a blackish or brownish colour. This box had two hooks to fasten the cover on the box. He had also some tracing paper with him. Also a small box of colours with brushes and the usual plates etc. This was of wood.

Had his revolvers, one a breachloader and the other of the obsolete pattern. Had a leather handbag country-made of the carpet bag shape which had two rings through which an iron rod ran and was locked at one end by a steel polished lock. Had also a lot of engraving tools and understood moulding and could engrave on metals. Was fond of drawing out plans, etc., sketches of 'Tigers' heads, birds etc. When at this work sat at a table and took a chair. Used to talk about the English people robbing India, killing cow etc. Always tried to get a hold of rich landholders, who lived in villages away from big towns. Seems never to have had any dealings with sowcars or Mohamedans. Looked out for young Brahmins whom he employed as his servants. Never kept any letters he received, always destroyed them after perusal. Used to receive a good deal of correspondence and often telegrams. This correspondence used to be addressed to some of his agents thus:—"To so and so to be handed over to Raw Sahib or Baba Sahib". Was in the habit of visiting native officers of native Regiments and making friends with military men, buying horses, guns etc. from them.

He bought a military saddle from a man at Amba for Rs. 55 as also a good breachloading gun.

When speaking to Kunbees or villagers always said "Burra," "Burra" when they said anything to him or answered him. He lived very simply, was not given to womanising or any other vices. Was very careful whom he saw, and introductions were made through his Brahmin agents.

Always spoke of money, and promised to pay large amounts if armed men could be got together. Pretended he could supply any number of arms and ammunitions to

those who joined him or who went in for dacoity on his account. Has a greenish great coat and several other jackets of tweeds and other materials. Has brown and black *Puttees* which he wears when he rides long distances. Had a pair of expensive spectacles. Always made friends with Brahmins who were Government servants. A good horse or pony will be always found with him. He keeps his house at one place and puts up a long distance away in other place."

(4)

"*Bhir*, 12th June, 1899.

To

The Inspector-General of Police,
H.H. the Nizam's Dominions.

Sir,

(1) I have the honour to submit this my report on the late serious outbreak of dacoity and the general unrest in the *Bhir* district.

(2) This is one of the most peculiar cases I have ever had to deal with, as it is so mixed up with highly coloured, exaggerated matter and has been given a political facing, that it is a difficult task to get at anything verging on truth; however I shall endeavour to collect facts, as far as such facts can, at present, be separated from the wild rumours floating about, and place before you the results of my endeavour to get at the truth of such (a case as) is ever possible.

(3) Before entering into details in this intricate case I wish to point out that there are three distinct features which will have to be touched on in this report namely:—

First: Brahminical intrigue.

Second: The plundering by dacoits and the resistance shown to the local authorities by them.

Third: The action and conduct of local Police and other authorities of the District.

(4) These three features are so linked together that it is almost impossible to deal with each separately and to show step by step how these Brahminical intrigues gave birth to and caused this general unrest in this District.

(5) I shall now touch on the first feature of this case, namely the Brahminical intrigues.

The great difficulty I have to contend with is the fixing of the date on which these intrigues commenced, however, I think I am not far out when I fix that date as about the beginning of November, 1898.

(6) About that date a young Brahmin arrived at Bhir. He came from Hyderabad in a hired cart accompanied by two Sikhs named Suckasing and Khansing. He reached Bhir from Hyderabad *via* Beedar, Oodgheer and Amba. He was accompanied by another Brahmin from Hyderabad as far as Oodgheer, from which place this Brahmin disappeared. On arriving near Bhir, he ordered the two Sikhs, his servants, whom he had employed at Hyderabad to leave him and go to the Sikhs who are in Bhir and that he would send for them when he wanted them. Suckasing and Khansing did as they were desired, and this Brahmin (whom I shall now designate as the "Baba" throughout this report) went to a temple in the town of Bhir and next day went to the house of one Rungrao Kowlia, a Brahmin employed in the Muhafiz Cutcheree at Bhir and from here the Baba took up his quarters in the house of one Sewrow Sankar, known here under the *alias* of "Kaka," whose surname is Mudulkar, is a Dhaisest Brahmin of the Kagvadee clan, was once a resident of the town of Sowndata in the Dharwar district of the Bombay Presidency but has now made Bhir his home. He is a Canarese speaking Brahmin. Whether this man Kaka had any previous acquaintance with this Baba it is impossible at present to say, but from facts I have been able to get together I cannot but conclude that there is something in the background, which, however had better not be discovered at this stage of this singular case.

(7) This Baba no sooner found himself established in the Kaka's house than he seems to have commenced his intrigues, his first step being to give a feast (Bundara) to a select party of the Brahmins of Bhir. Kaka got all the necessary supplies for this feast from one Sunthrow Bundala, Baniah of Bhir and which were paid for by Kaka.

(8) All Brahmins of standing were invited to this feast and from what I can at present gather the following persons from among a number of others were the Chief persons of note who were at this feast: *A, B, C, D, E, F, G.*

(9) I refrain from mentioned names, but I do not think I am far wrong when I conclude that every Brahmin official and non-official of Bhir is more or less mixed up, either directly or indirectly with the intrigues of this Baba.

(10) The Baba did not join in this feast, but remained on Kaka's "Madee" (upstair roof of a room).

After the feast was over, the party joined the Baba on the "Madee" of Kaka's house, and the usual *Pan Suparee* was served. After a little the party broke up and left except A. C and all the male members of Kaka's house. This select party talked together for about $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours, and then the Baba retired to rest.

(11) Regular meetings of Brahmins used to daily take place at Kaka's house and after sometime letters began to come in through the British post for the Baba, but they were not addressed direct to the Baba but thus:—"to Sivrao Kaka to be given to the Row Sahib or Baba Sahib."

(12) One day when the following persons were assembled on Kaka's "Madee" Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, a letter was received by post by the Baba. It was in Urdu and the Baba read it out:—

"A long time has passed and you have made no 'bundobust.' How long are we to wait, we are ready."

After a little, Kaka sent his servant Gopalsing to call A and C referred to in para (8). On their arrival this letter was again read to them and if I am rightly informed all the Brahmins who daily attended the meetings held by the Baba were informed of the contents of this letter.

The Baba making people believe that the Brahminical power was soon to be supreme talked a deal about the killing of cows and India being robbed by the Europeans, etc., etc., and other subjects which are generally discussed and expounded at Congress Meetings.

(13) This Baba from what I can at present gather used to visit Amba, Aurangabad, Parlee, Sawrie and other places but seems to have made the Bhir and Aurangabad districts his chief intriguing grounds. His doings and saying at Aurangabad and other places I am not in a position at present to refer to as my information is meagre and not sufficiently authenticated to justify me alluding to them in this report.

(14) After sometime the Baba went away towards Aurangabad and remained away for some time. One day

Kaka received a letter from the **Baba** and then sent for the following persons:—

- (1) **Shajee** of **Dewgaon**, **Dhondee's** (one of the leader's) brother.
- (2) **Dhondee Vrigut** of **Dewagaon**, leader now in custody.
- (3) **Chudia Dhair** of **Dewgaon**, a trusted friend of **No. 2** now in custody.
- (4) **Bapoorow**, patail of the village of **Mog** and several others.

On all these persons being assembled in **Kaka's** house, he produced this letter and said he had received it from the **Baba** and read it out. It contained the following words:

“ My Fouj (Troops) are ready. You must get yours ready also. Send money.”

The **Kaka** then said a deal about getting armed men together and assist the **Baba** in his grand undertaking which was to deliver the **Marathas** and all **Hindoos** from their present low state and that when the **Brahminical Raj** came into power how happy all **Hindoos** would be, etc., etc. This meeting then broke up and nothing was done till the **Baba** again appeared at **Bhir**.

The date of this second visit of the **Baba's** to **Bhir** cannot be correctly ascertained I do not consider much importance not a doubt carrying on dodges from February 99 latter time from **Bhir** and **Kaka** after the dacoits were captured, no doubt finding that the game was up (about the 15th April '99).

(15) No sooner had the **Baba** arrived at **Bhir** on his second visit and put up at **Kaka's** house than the meetings I have referred to in paras 8 to 12 of this report again commenced and letters began to arrive by the **British Post** **Aurangabad** which were described in para letters were read end all the persons who meetings held at **Kaka's** **Baba** letters were said to have come from **Jaipoor**, **Nepal**, **Khyma Gujraht**, **Anve** (a place near **Lucknow**), **Afghanistan** and **Cashmeer** and in fact from all parts of **India**. Letters were also said

to have been received from several native officers of Native British Regiments from Hindustan and other parts of India. All these letters referred to troops being ready to take action in the Baba's cause.

The Baba answered all these letters informing the several writers to wait for three months and that he would send them instructions and money.

The answers given to the Native Officers of Native British Regiments were "Be ready when I send my Jhanda (flag) and money, then act."

(16) At one of these usual meetings the Baba proposed that flags, uniforms, silver waist-plates should be got ready. About Rupees 50 worth of yarn of a peculiar colour was ordered and was spun by weavers at Bhir and delivered to Kaka. About 25 suits of what was called uniform were made up. They consisted of a common kurtha coat and breeches of a Pajama shape; for each unit Rupees 7-12 was charged.

A goldsmith was employed at Kaka's and a few silver waist-plates were made ready. On these were engraved in Sanskrit the words "All our endeavours will succeed." The Baba assisted the goldsmith in making these plates.

(17) While all these make believe dodges described in the preceding paras were going on, an urgent letter was received by the Baba from Aurangabad asking him to come to Aurangabad as soon as possible as the troops had to be paid. No mention was made as regards what troops were to be paid. No doubt this was a move of this cunning intrigue and the Baba to raise money and if I am rightly informed Kaka gave him an advance of Rupees 2,500 and the Baba started in all haste to Aurangabad.

(18) After about eight or ten days the Baba returned to Bhir bringing with him a number of spearheads and several pairs of shoes.

A meeting was held and the Baba gave Shajee Patail of Deogaon, Dhondee, Bapoorow Patail and several others some of these spearheads. Some old guns and swords were also distributed among the above named persons and several others who accompanied them. I received three of these spearheads at Deogaon as also a flag which was handed up by Javantha.

At one of these meetings the Baba asked one Mahadasing an old Hindustani dacoit, who was among others who were in attendance at the meetings, to go to Hindustan and bring 10,000 men, Mahadasing said "All right I will bring the men, but my expense must be first paid and two months' pay in advance given for each man. The Baba made no reply to this request and the move of sending for 10,000 men from Hindustan was dropped.

At another meeting the Baba addressed Dhondee and Bapoorow and said "you see I want money, you will all get jagirs when I assume power." Dhondee replied he had no money to give upon which the Baba said, "Commit dacoity and you will soon get together heaps of money." Dhondee replied that the district had just passed through a famine and the people had hidden all their property; upon this the Baba replied, "I will show you places where you will get lots of loot" and he then mentioned the village of Natra where there was a very rich man as also several other rich persons at Sawrie and other places. Dhondee said, "The Natra man is a relative of mine. How can I loot his house." The Baba said, "Loot it now and when I come to power I will give him a jagir worth 10,000 rupees."

After attending several other meetings similar to those already described all the Patails named in this para left for their houses all their minds being well brimmed with hopes of future greatness and dreams of living at no distant time as opulent jagirdars.

(19) I could write sheets and sheets of the doings and sayings of this Baba at these meetings, but think it only waste of time doing so, as I think I have already recorded enough to show the style in which he worked up the feelings of those who attended his meetings. To such an extent had he impressed his coming to power on the members of these meetings that murder or rather two murders were committed at his bidding in this wise.

(20) A great dacoit named Suddiah Mang, who had 7 years imprisonment in the Yerrowda Jail and was one of the gang the Baba and Kaka had managed to get together, remarked that the Baba was no Rajah and was a "Bhampta" (pickpocket) as he wanted dacoities to be committed to get money. Orders were at once issued by the Baba through the Kaka that this Mang should be put out of the way. He was soon after murdered together with another Mang, who was

with him at the time and both their bodies were placed in an old stack of grass in the Deogaon jungles and burnt to ashes. A pony these two murdered men had with them was also destroyed so as to leave no trace of their whereabouts. I visited the scene of this double murder and saw the bones of both these men which were in small pieces lying burnt to cinders.

(21) I attach a statement I have recorded in connection with the facts I have touched on in the preceding paras, on perusal of which you will find that what I have stated is fully borne out as regards the doings and sayings of the Baba and how he carried on his intrigues (see Appendix G.).

(22) Having described in the foregoing paras the intrigues of the Baba and the other dealings he has had with the Brahmins and others of this place I will now endeavour to follow that part played by the so-called dacoits nearly all of whom were instruments of the Baba's intrigues.....

(23) On the return of Dhondee and others to their houses as described in the latter part of para 19 of this report active action was at once set on foot.

Dhondee of Dewgaon got together a gang which was not a difficult thing for him to do as he is an old dacoit, in fact being the only dacoit of note among the whole gathering. About thirty men were assembled, and Etilsing a servant of the Kaka's also arrived at Dewgaon. A plan was laid to loot the house of one Abajee Vingarh of Natra. The gang started but Etilsing did not join it as he got fever. So, he remained at Dewgaon. Abajee's house was looted on the 2nd February '99 and property to the value of rupees 11,371 was plundered.

The leader Dhondee gave each of the dacoits rupees 20, but all the jewellery, etc., was got together, tied up in a bundle and brought to Dewgaon. Three Arabs who were among the dacoits were the only persons who received any share of the plundered jewellery, getting among them one gold *cud-dah*, one silver *todah* and one silver *kerdodah*. The bundle of looted jewellery was handed over to Etilsing, who put a chit on it, intending to take it to Bhir and give it to the Kaka for the Baba. Just then it leaked out among the dacoits that one of their number named Bali (now in custody) had absconded with a bag containing Rupees 800 in cash and gone to the village of Babulgaon. Dhondee sent a party after Bali and he was brought back to Dewgaon with the Rupees

800. This money was also put before Etilsing and next day Dhondee and Etilsing started for Bhir with the bundle of plunder above referred to and it was handed over to Kaka in his house and it was placed before the Baba. After this Dhondee returned to Dewgaon.

(25) After a few days rest and on the arrival of Etilsing and Gopalsing, both servants of the Kaka at Dewgaon, a plan was formed and the Oopal, (Wassi taluq, Naldrug district), dacoity was committed. The house of one Vital Sunsheeram was attacked and looted of property of the value of Rupees 3,632-12-0 on the 15th February '99. The plunder was not divided among the dacoits. The ready cash found was distributed, each dacoit getting from 10 to 20 rupees. All the jewelry and other articles of value together with rupees 400, which was the balance of the ready cash found in the house after the dacoits were given their shares, was tied up in a bundle and taken to Bhir by Etilsing, Gopalsing and Jeventha and disposed of as was the loot in the Natra dacoity, being handed over to the Kaka and Baba. The latter on seeing what the bundle contained remarked, "This is very little." Jeventha replied, "We brought what we got to you." Next day Jeventha returned to Dewgaon.

(26) About three or four days after Jeventha returned to Dewgaon, the Mohtamin of Bhir came to the village of Kasaree and arrested four persons who were associates of Dhondee's gang, this was on the 24th February '99. Dhondee hearing of this and that the four dacoits arrested had confessed, given up their property and named their associates, got alarmed. So taking a trusted dacoit friend of his named Aba Andla (now in custody) went to Bhir. They were concealed by Kaka in an old house in Bhir and were fed and looked after by Kaka.

Jeventha and about ten or twelve others of Dewgaon, all associates of the four dacoits captured by the Mohtanim as described above, bolted into the hills, taking three guns, three swords, powder and bullets, which Kaka had supplied to them.

(27) Jeventha and his party remained concealed in the hills for some time and then Jeventha and one Dhondee Talee, who was of the party, went to the village of Mog, leaving the other members of the gang in the hills. Here Jeventha met one Serpatee and Magiah Mang, the latter being an old dacoit

and the former a son of a Patail of Mog. Serpatee told Javenthath that the Baba and Kaka were coming to Mog and that he (Javenthath) had a letter directing him to send for the men he had left in the hills. So Javenthath sent Dhonde Talee and the party arrived at Mog and put up in a hill near the village of Mag which is close to a well owned by one Bapoorow Patail of Mog (one of the leaders now in custody).

On the third day Kaka arrived at Mog alone from Aurangabad. He was mounted on a pony which belonged to Vittalrow Karkoon, the man arrested at Aurangabad and sent to me here.

Javenthath remarked to Kaka, "Here I am with my men in the jungles. We have nothing to eat. Dhondee is at Bhir. What am I to do"? Kaka replied, "It will be all right. I will, on reaching Bhir, send Dhondee to you." He then left for Bhir, on reaching which place Kaka sent Dhondee to Mog and Etilsing and Gopalsing both servants of the Kaka joined the gang which was further reinforced by several persons of Mog joining it.

(28) From the dacoit camp at Mog the Bharanpoor dacoity was committed and the house of one Sukhdeo Marwari was plundered on the night of the 11th March '99 and property of the value of Rupees 1,114-4-0 was collected. The dacoits state that they got very little property in this dacoity all of which was handed over to the persons of Mog who had joined the gang as before stated. This was done to encourage them to remain with the gang.

(29) The dacoits hearing that the Mohtamim of Bhir had arrived at Daken Mohi, (this was on the 12th March, '99; the Mohtamim had 2 Sawars and 18 Constables with him; the information was sent to them by the Goomasta Patail of Daken Mohi named Shamrow Brahmin by a Dhair named Pandia of the same village), bolted and went to a place called Sokerwadee, (this is the place which the Contingent Troops later on attacked on the 14th of April '99).

The gang then consisted of about 30 persons under the leadership of Dhondee of Dewgaon, Bapoorow Patail of Mog, Etilsing, a servant of the Kaka's and Mogiah Mang.

• On the 14th March '99 the Muhtamim following the gang came to the village of Heera which is about 2 miles from Sokerwadee. The gang hearing of the Muhtamim's arrival

at Heera moved away to a place in the jungles of the village of Sagerwadee where they remained concealed and the Kaka Ooplee dacoity was planned and carried out and on the night of the 25th March '99 the house of one Goolab Chand Marwari was robbed of property to the value of Rs. 5,758-0-0. There were about 25 dacoits in this dacoity among whom were Etilsing, and Gopalsing, servants of the Kaka.

The plunder in this case was divided among the dacoits; no portion of it was sent to the Baba at Bhir.

(30) On the 1st April, 1899 constables Mohammed Haneef and Gopalrow of the Bhir Police were sent to Dewgaon to gain information. On their reaching the village they were set upon by a number of people, seized, tied up and placed on *Charpais* and carried away in triumph to the dacoit Camp where by Mongia's orders one of Mohammed Haneef's ears was cut clear off and they were then returned. Constable Mohammed Haneef behaved very well in this matter as he drew his sword when he was set upon and wounded seriously in the hand one of the party who attacked him and no doubt would have got away, but numbers prevailed and he was over-powered. As for Gopalrow Brahmin he went on his knees and begged for his life and was set free.

(31) After this affair the gang moved camp and came to a place called Dewganwadee which is near Dewgaon where they concealed themselves in the hill nearby. Food was obtained from Dewgaon by the dacoits themselves.

While the gang were at this place, the Muhtamim of Bhir came upon them. This was on the 2nd April '99. The Muhtamim then had with him 19 Sikhs, 6 constables, 1 Jamedar and two Sawars. The dacoits now in custody state that they were then about 30 to 40 men in the gang.

The Muhtamim's party began to fire on the dacoits who returned the fire and forming themselves into 3 parties advanced towards the Muhtamim's party, one party of dacoits going to the right, the other to the left and the third remaining in the centre. All moved on up the hill where the Muhtamim was posted with his men.

The Muhtamim thinking the dacoits were about to surround his party retired and the dacoits followed him. This went on till the Muhtamim's party reached the village of

Nage of Dhypul, firing at long distances being continued throughout this retreat by both the police and the dacoits.

When the Muhtamim's party reached Dhypul, the dacoits went back to their camp, and thinking they might again be attacked in force changed their camp, going again to Sokerwadee where the Tara Sona dacoity was planned and carried out.

The house of one Ramuck Marwari of Tarasona was looted on the 4th April '99 and property to the value of Rs. 24,762-12-6 was carried away as stated by the complainant but each and every one of the offenders in this dacoity state that not one-third of this amount was obtained and I am of opinion that what the dacoits state is nearer the truth than what the complainant shows as the amount of his loss.

None of this plunder was taken to Bhir or given to the Baba. It was divided into 5 equal shares, each leader taking the shares of his men thus:—

- (1) The Mog party one share.
- (2) The Deogaon party one share.
- (3) Etilsing's (Kaka's servant) party one share.
- (4) Mogiah Mang's party one share.
- (5) Suriah Dhair of Dewgan's party one share.

While the gang were at Sokerwadee they were reinforced by newcomers from Mog, Dewgaon, Sagerwadee and other places which soon swelled their number to over 80 persons, among whom, however, were several who had only come to see their friends or brought food; several boys also joining the gang here, thinking no doubt it was a grand fun.

(33) This gang committed several main offences such as a small dacoity at Magkawadee on the 9th April in which they took Rs. 6-12-0 of property, the Tacklee (Rajah Raye Rayan Ka Ilaga) dacoity on the 12th April '99 and also looted the Muhtamim of Bhir's kit and indulged sheep poaching, etc., etc., all of which offences are too numerous to go into particulars here. So, I shall now proceed with the third and last subject, namely the conduct of the Police and the local authorities, etc.

(34) It is with much regret that I commence this disagreeable subject. As regards the part played by them

in this matter now under report, it shows a total want of police vigilance on the side of the local police and a deplorable want of commonsense and sound judgment on the part of the local authorities.

(85) As you will have observed on perusal of the foregoing paras of this report, there is not a doubt that **this intriguing Baba and his associates held meetings at the Kaka's house and that dacoits and "badmashes" assembled, plans were drawn up and unheard of themes discussed and what I at present think a make believed correspondence was carried on or rather said to be carried on by this Baba throughout India. Arms were brought into Bhir from Aurangabad and distributed to dacoits who were also supplied with ammunition. Clothing was made up and partly distributed. All this was carried on, it may be said, for nearly 5 months. The local police not known anything of these proceedings speaks for itself and needs no comment.**

(86) **The bungling of the late Talukdar throughout this matter from start to finish shows want of sound judgment as I will presently show.**

(87) While the dacoits were assembled at Lokerwade in force defying the police and plundering the surrounding country, the Talukdar and other officials of Bhir sent Vakeels Kasaba, Moulvi Abdullah and Sarvat Ali to treat with them, advising them to return to their houses or to come in and surrender. These Vakeels reached the dacoit camp, had a talk with several of the dacoits and persuaded the dacoits Bapoorow and Dharial Dhair and one or two other to accompany them to the Talukdar's. On their arrival they were released on security and a written paper was given to them by the Talukdar to the effect that the police would not disturb them or rather would not arrest them. No sooner did these men get released and obtained this written paper than they went back to the gang and the written paper was used as a pass by the dacoits, several of whom were afterwards met and on being questioned by the Police produced this pass and were not interfered with.

(88) **The Muhtamim finding that the dacoits were gaining strength and dacoities followed each other in quick succession wrote to the Talukdar for Arabs and Sikhs, etc. The Talukdar wrote to the Muhtamim that he was coming with men to his assistance but he never turned up. So the Muhtamim came himself to Bhir to see the Talukdar on the 20th March '99 and reported to him how matters stood.**

Nothing seems to have been done till the 26th March '99 when the Talukdar wrote to the Muhtamim advising him not to go for the dacoits. Subsequently, the Muhtamim received fresh orders to try to run down the dacoits. Ten days were lost in fruitless discussion and the Police were hampered and not given the much-needed assistance.

(39) I attach a copy of the Muhtamim's statement marked. For rather an abstract of what he said to me, which throws much light on this point in the case—I mean the hampering of the Police throughout this matter.

(40) I attach copy of the confessions marked G of prisoner Javenth of Dewgaum (which I consider a true statement of facts) by which you will observe that Mohammed Yaseen Mohtamim took active action against the dacoits (see para six of confession marked A). He arrested several of the members of Dhondee's gang and followed them up from place to place as is proved by the Confession of Javenth, but at the same time the Muhtamim's conduct on meeting the dacoits in the Dewgaonwadee jungles (see Javenth's confession para marked B) is a matter I cannot see how the Muhtamim can explain away.

You will see on perusal of the Muhtamim's statement marked F which I attach how he accounts for the failure in the encounter with the dacoits at Dewgaumwade

(41) Taking all things into consideration I am of opinion that the Muhtamim worked well throughout this disturbance but showed want of self-confidence and looked up too much for assistance and support from the Talukdar and others in matters he should have acted on his own responsibility. His excuse for not knowing what was going on in Kaka's house and what the Baba was doing in Bhir is that he remained very little in Bhir and being a newcomer was not in a position to gain information.

(42) It is to be regretted that no steps were taken to recover the plundered property from the captured dacoits. Not a finger was raised from the 4th April till the 3rd May. If active measures were at once taken 3/4 of the loot would have been recovered as the prisoners were in a fearful fright and had lost all self-control when first captured.

Ameen Mustafa Khan was as it were the Chief in Charge of the whole show and being Ahmed Khan's right hand man would not brook any interference. All the while he was very

busily negotiating bribes with the prisoners and their friends and I have hopes of being able soon to prove that he did receive a bribe from one of the prisoners.

(43) I attach a rough sketch of the place the dacoits were assembled when attacked by the Contingent Troops on the 14th April '99. You will observe that the temple *A* is the key of the position which though strong one was untenable when *A* was occupied in force. To get possession of *A* was an easy matter and only required a few men to rush it from the side marked *B* in the sketch and taking into consideration the class of men Dhairs, Mangs, Salees, Chumbars, Cunbees, Maharathas, Dhungers and Culltees which made up the sum total of the gang and the arms they possessed I am at a loss to conclude why the assistance of the military was obtained when there were sufficient police Rohillas etc. to attack double the men of such dacoits then at Bhir. With 25 Rohillas the position could have been rushed and the men dispersed in an hour but I cannot but conclude that like anything else the position was considered impregnable and the number of dacoits exaggerated hundredfold.

(44) I hope you will not think it out of place my suggesting here that it is my humble opinion that every Brahmin of whatsoever rank in Government employment should be at once removed or rather transferred from the Bhir and Auran-gabad districts to places without this Division and not allowed to ever return again as there is not a doubt that every Brahmin either was an active mover in the intrigues of the Baba or knew of their existence. Of course I do not hold the same alarming ideas as regards the Baba's intrigues as are held by many in these parts nor do I consider there was any attempt to subvert the Government, but this I hold that his intrigues and foolish blabber caused much crime and led to many a well behaved and honest men finding himself placed in a false position and others branded as dacoits who were honest cultivators till they were led away by this Baba's direct or indirect teachings and by seeing Brahmin Government servants active agents of this said Baba.

(45) I now hold 69 prisoners. 12 have been killed and there are about 27 still at large who either absconded the day the dacoits were attacked or afterwards.

The total amount of property recovered comes to about Rs. 8,000 which is very little indeed when compared with the total amount plundered namely Rs. about 36,637-0-0. But

I think that in the Tarasona case in which the complainant puts down his loss at 24,762-12-6 and says he lost in cash alone Rs. 11,000 that the complainant has made a false statement, as one and every dacoit who took part in this case state that they found no cash in the house. Besides this some of the offenders handed up their shares in this case which were found to consist of false gold and silver ornaments. The complainant states these do not belong to him whereas all the dacoits swear they found them in the house.

(46) The delay in forwarding this report to you took place on account of the great difficulty I had in getting together the materials and in trying to get as near the real facts as possible before I ventured to put pen to paper. And I much doubt whether all I have referred to in this long report will be found correct when the originators of all these troubles are brought to the front, which I hope will be soon accomplished. Then and then only will the real truth of these intrigues be known.

I have the honour to be
Sir,

Your most obedient servant.
(Sd.) E. J. STEPHENSON,
Detective Assistant."

(4)

Statement of Bapoo Rao Narsing, Brahmin of Pooplee, Taluka Tuljapur, District Naldrug.

"My father is a Patwaree of my village Pooplee.

I was at Hyderabad about 11 months ago (11 August '98) where I met Kishen Rao Brahmin who is employed in the Court of Wards at Hyderabad as a Karkoon and Rungrow who is a Karkoon in the Customs Department and is a resident of the village of Kallam, a town in the Naldrug District. We met at a place called Ladkee-Bye-Ka-Badah which is within the Residency limits.

Kishen Row said, "A man has arrived who wants to get together armed men to cause a disturbance and if you will get him men he will pay them and pay you also." I enquired who this man was. Kishen Rao replied, "He is a big man named Row Sahib." Kishen Rao and Rungrao then said,

"There are Kykadies towards your village. Can you arrange to get them to assemble and commence looting?" I said I would try. After about a month myself, Rungrow and Kishen Rao left Hyderabad, taking train at Hyderabad and leaving it at Packnee, a small station near Sholapore. From Packnee we went to Pooplee. Next day I went to look up the Kykadies. I met one of the gang. He said, "We do not trust Brahmins" but if I gave him Rs. 150 he would get together a gang and come to Aurangabad, where the Row Sahib was. I should have mentioned this before that it was arranged that we should meet the Rao Sahib (Baba) at Aurangabad after making the necessary arrangement to get up a gang.

I told the Kykadee I would ask my master and let him know; so, we three myself, Rungrow and Kishen Row left Pooplee for Aurangabad, first going to Kallam which is 60 miles from Pooplee. The reason for going to Kallam was that Rungrow was a resident of that village and had his relatives at Kallam. On arriving at Kallam where we remained for several days Kishenrow left us and went to a place called Kouta, Taluka Jintoor, District Parbhani, as he is a relative of the Desmukhs of Kouta. After Kishen Rao left, Rungrow was sent to Tamba, Taluka Kaij, District Bhir to see one Shaishrao *alias* Dhajee Daishpandia of Kallam who is a near relative of Rungrow. Dhajee arrived and Rungrow asked him if he could get men together as a big man had arrived at Aurangabad and wanted to get men together as he wanted to assemble an army. Dhajee said that men could be got together if money was given. After some further talk myself, Rungrow and Dhajee went to Barsi, took train to Nagger and from there went by Tongah to Aurangabad. On arriving at Aurangabad we went to one Govindrow Potdar's house who is employed in the Aurangabad Treasury as a Sharoff. We arrived there in the morning and Rungrow enquired of Govind Rao, "Is the Row Sahib (Baba) at Aurangabad". Govind Row left his house and in about 20 minutes returned and said that the Rao Sahib (Baba) had just arrived from some village and that he wished us to come and see him. Govindrow then accompanied us (I mean myself, Rungrow and Dhajee) as far as the Baba's house which he pointed out and all entered it. This house is situated behind the Suparee Maruthee's temple at Aurangabad. It is a three-storied house right on the public road. I knew nothing of Aurangabad, having never gone there before.

On entering this house we found the first door open and another door which led up to the first storey of the house locked from inside. We called out, "Open the door", upon which we were asked who we were. Rungrow replied, "I am Rungrow". Upon this, the door was opened, and we all went upstairs, where we met the Baba; he was sitting on a "Mireg Chala" (deer-skin). There were no arms with him. He said, "What is the news and when did you all come. After we have had our food we will have a chat." We then left and went back to the Potdar's house, and about noon went back to the Baba's house for our food where we had a feed, it being a Friday. The Baba said he could not discuss any matter just then; so after some talk we left. We returned to the Potdar's. In the evening we again went to the Baba's for our food. Besides ourselves and the Baba there was another man who joined us who went by the name of Govindrow No. 2. The Potdar Govindrow did not attend this dinner. Nothing passed during the time we were having our food. A woman attended us during the dinner. She was an old woman and was married. I say this, as she had the usual marriage "Pote" on. I only noticed a Maratha servant in the house and one Umruth Bheemrao and one Pandoo, son of Bheemraw, a Customs Inspector, who was then at the Taroda Chowki. There was no one else in the house. After dinner the Baba asked us to come the next morning. So, myself, Dhajee and Rungrow called on the Baba next day. We found the Baba alone. He went up to the third storey of the house alone and then sent Rungrow No. 2 to call Rungrow, the man who was with us. So he went up accompanied by Dhajee. After a quarter of an hour I joined them. The Baba then enquired, "What Bandobast have you made and what can you do". Dhajee said that he could get 2000 men together. I said I could get 100 Kykadees. The Baba said that he would pay each man Rs. 8 a month and would supply arms and ammunition. We then told the Baba if he gave us an advance of Rs. 10,000 we would get together the men. Our chief object was to cheat the Baba and get money out of him. (Note:—This does not look so when the after proceedings of the people are considered.)

The Baba said he had no money, as he had made large advances elsewhere. On this the money matter was dropped, and dinner was served, after taking which we again returned to our place at the Potdar's. In the evening we again called at the Baba's house, and it was agreed that when

the whole country rose in arms in the Baba's cause he would advance the Rs. 10,000. We said we could not agree to this and after much talk Rs. 48 were given to Rungrow and a chit was given to me to the Kaka at Bhir by the Baba. It was worded thus: "Give the bearers of this what they ask for. Keshavrao Punchee will explain matters".

"Keshavarao Punchee is a Paischar of the Tahsildar's Katchery here (Bhir). I should here mention how we came to know Keshavrao Punchee. It was in this wise. The day before the Baba gave the chit to Kaka for the arms, Keshavrao Punchee came to the Baba's and had a long talk with him on the third storey of the house. We were sitting downstairs. Dhajee and Rungrow knew who Keshavrao Punchee was, I did not. We (myself, Dhajee and Rungrow the Customs Karkoon) got a cart and came on to Bhir. The day we left Aurangabad the Kishenrow whom I have referred to as having left the party at Kallam and who was employed at Hyderabad in the Court of Wards turned up at Aurangabad where we had left him.

"On arriving at Bhir we went to one Gocul Pershad, a Rajput of Bhir and put up at his place: he allows people to put up at his place. After having our food Dhajee and Rungrow left me and went away and returned in about 3 hours. I asked them where they had been to. They said, "We went to see the Kaka." I said, "What did the Kaka say about the arms?" I gave the chit I got from the Baba either to Dhajee or Rungrow: I forget to whom. They said the Kaka had agreed to give the arms.

"Next day I went with Dhajee and Rungrow to the Kaka's. He asked me how was the Baba and when he was coming. I said very soon. After some talk we left. We remained at Bhir for 3 days. The day we left, the Kaka sent us three guns (muzzle loaders) and one blunderbuss, the Kaka saying he had no more arms to give. We took these arms and started from Bhir, mounted on three hired ponies. The owner of the ponies was a Mohamedan of Bhir. We went straight to Dewgaon where we put up for the night. There we met Dhonee (one of the Chief leaders now in custody), who showed us a Brahmin's house where we had food and the ponies were also supplied with Kadba, and we rested at Dewgaon in the Chawdi. On arriving at Dewgaon, Dhajee enquired of the people at the Chawdi if Shajee was

at Dewgaon, Shajee in, I believe, a brother of Dhondee. After a while, Dhondee came to the front, and said Shajee was away. Dhajee asked me to sit on one side and said that I was the Baba's agent. Dhajee asked Dhondee, "Are you on friendly terms with Kaka and have you got together armed men." Dhondee said "yes," and Dhajee pointed towards me telling Dhondee I was the Baba's agent.

"Next morning we started from Dewgaon on our way to Tamba, Dhajee's village is at a place about a mile from Tamba known as the Singasun-ka-Davee. We met Shajee who had a Dhair of Dewgaon with him. Taking him with us we went to Tamba and put up at Dhajee's house.

"I was told by Dhajee to act as the Baba's agent and not to join in the conversation; so I remained quiet, and Dhajee and Shajee had a long chat. I did not hear what was said, after which Shajee left, saying he was going to Dewgaon.

"Next day myself, Dhajee and Rungrow, the Customs Clerk went to Kallam taking one of the guns we got from the Kaka with us; the other gun and the blunderbuss were left at Tamba in Dhajee's house.

On arriving at Kallam we put up at Rungrow's house. Rungrow kept my gun and gave me Rs. 8 and told me to go to Poplee and get together the Kykadies. So I left Kallam alone, taking a hired pony with me. On arriving at Poplee, my village, I met the chief of the Kykadies named Budia and asked him to get men together. He said he would not have anything to do with Brahmins. While I was at Poplee one Yenketrow, a Kulkarni of Polech, Taluqa Pandharpur, District Sholapur, met me and came along with me to Kallam, where I found out that Dhajee had gone back to his village Tamba and only Rungrow was at Kallam. The reason of Yenket Rao accompanying me to Kallam was as follows: I met Yenkat Rao at Hyderabad when I was there. Umrath Bhim Rao Panda (the man I have referred to before) was also at Hyderabad at this time. He was then an agent of the Baba's, and he told me that the Baba, his master, wanted a cook and asked Yenkat Rao if he would take service with the Baba. Yenkat Rao agreed to this and taking train came on to his village, Pollech, where I met him and took him on with me to Kallam as stated above. Rungrow asked me about the Kykadies. I said they refused to come.

upon which he said, "Never mind, go to Aurangabad and try and get the Baba to advance Rs. 100 and tell him that men are being got together." Taking Yenkat Rao with me to Aurangabad and tell the Baba if he asked where I was that Aurangabad and tell the Baba if he asked where I was that I was getting men ready and try and obtain some money from the Baba. So I and Yenkat Rao came on to Deogaon where we met Shajee and Dhondee. They asked me to inform the Kaka and the Baba that they wanted no money, but a quantity of cartridges and a cartload of sulphur and saltpetre. We left Deogaon and came to Bhir and went to Kaka's house where we were put up. He gave us food. I asked him what Shajee and Dhondee had said about the cartridges, etc. He said, "Go to Aurangabad and bring the Baba to Bhir and everything will be arranged." So we started from Bhir and reached Aurangabad, and put ourselves up with the Baba who was in the same house where I had first met him. The Baba sent for me alone upstairs and asked me if arrangements had been made to collect men. I said that money was required to do this. I then told him about the cartridges, etc. The Baba said that there was a lot of old gun-powder in the Daulatabad Fort which I could get and make it serviceable by putting it in brandy. The Baba then gave me three small boxes of cartridges and bade me take them to Shajee and Dhondee and tell them that they were being sent as samples.

We remained 3 days in the Baba's house where we met 3 Brahmins who were the Baba's friends. They could speak English and Marathi. I can recognise them even now. Two of them were, Appa and Govind Rao.

Punda whom I have mentioned before said these three Brahmins were the Raja's agents and came from Dharwar.

The Baba employed Yenkat Rao as his cook. This man Yenkat Rao is now at Dwarka in Gujrat acting I suppose as the Baba's agent. His address is Lalla Rassaldar, Dwarka. He gave me a chit from Baba to Kaka which was open. In this chit the Baba said "I am coming very soon, do not be anxious." Taking this chit and the 3 boxes of cartridges with me, I came back to Bhir and went to Kaka's house where I met Shajee. I gave the Kaka the Baba's chit, took my dinner and next day went to Deogaon, Shajee accompanying me. On reaching Deogaon I met Dhondee and gave him the three boxes of cartridges and told him what the Baba had said about the gunpowder at Daulatabad.

"From Deogaon I went on to Tamba. Dhajee asked me what the news was I said. "The Baba is coming to Bhir very soon." Dhajee said nothing. I took my food and then went on to Kallam where I met Rungrow. He said, "what is the news about the Baba". I said. "he is coming to Bhir in a day or two". So after resting at Kallam I went on to my village Poplee in the month of November 1898, and after about 2 weeks' rest at my house I went to Hyderabad where I met the man Punda I have before referred to. I asked him why he had come to Hyderabad and left the Baba. Punda said, "I had a dispute with the Baba and he drew his sword and wanted to cut my throat, so I got away", and that the Baba was "Lucha" and warned me not to go near him. This man, Umrath Bheem Row Punda is about 20 or 23 years of age. He is now at Dehra Doon in the Forest School, there studying for the Forest Dept.

"I then took service as acting Munshee at the British Post Office in Hyderabad, where I have been from the beginning of January '99 to the 13th May '99.

"Sheshrow Ram Row Dhajee (Neeranture), Brahmin Daishpandiah of Tamba, taluqa Kaij, District Bhir corroborates the recital of Bapu Row in every way and further states that during the time he was at Aurangabad he often noticed 4 or 5 sawars of the contingent coming frequently to see the Baba. They used to come without uniform, but mounted on Government horses. The Baba used to go and meet them."

(5)

An extract of a statement by Jaivantha son of Shajee of Devgaum.

"About eighth months ago or about three or four days before the Divali, Etilsingh, a servant of Sivrow Kaka, came to Devgaon. He said Sevrow Kaka had sent him to call myself and Dhondee (my uncle) to Bhir as a Rajah had come, who was soon to be master of all Hindustan. Dhondee was not there at Dewgaon; so I went alone with Etilsingh to Bhir.

We went straight to Sivrow Kaka's house; it was then about 6 o'clock in the evening. I was introduced to the Rajah, who was sitting on Kaka's "Madee", by Kaka, Sirpathi Kaka's son and Bow Rau *alias* Ganga Dher, who is

a son of Kaka's brother. When we went up to the "Madee" Vital Rau, Bapoo Kasud Vakil, Rungrow Kowlia a Kar-koon of the Mahafiz Duftar at Bhir, Kasaba Vakeel and some other Brahmins were present. The Rajah said the Raj will be changed on Gudee Padva day and asked us to collect men to whom he would supply, arms and ammunition. All the Vakeels, whom I have named above, and the others that were with them joined the Rajah and said that what the Rajah had said was true. They used to address him (the Rajah) as Maharaj and sometimes as Rowsaib. All these Vakeels said the Maharaj had given up all he possessed, and wandered about for the past 14 years all for the Marathas and Hindus, and that the Europeans had robbed India and taken all the money out of India, and said, "Just look at a box of matches; the Europeans make 50 for one pice in their country and make us pay one pice for each here. They kill a cow which is a general sin and our religion is lost. I have come to put things right. I want your assistance. The Mahomedan and Europeans are the great sinners. When I come to power I will hang anyone who kills a cow and amputate the hand of him who sells a cow to a European or Mahomedan and those who do not come to my assistance now I will destory when I come to power".

"After remaining in Bhir for 2 or 3 days where I stayed in Kaka's house and where I received my food I went back to my village. All the time I was in Bhir the Maharaj held meetings at Kaka's house on the "Madee" and all I have said above was reported over and over again. When I reached Devgaon I told Dhondee all I had seen and heard at Bhir. He said when all the world takes action we will follow. No one came near us for about 2 or 3 months. Shajee (Dhondee's brother), my father, was then at Deogaon. When I say then I mean that Shajee, my father, came 5 or 6 days after I returned from Bhir.

A Sowcar of Barsi complained against Shajee in the Civil Court at Bhir and summons was issued, and my father Shajee went from Deogaon to Bhir, where he met Siv Row Kaka, and he reported all he had said to me about the Maharaj. I learnt this on my father's return to Deogaon. About 15 days after this Gangabisan of Hyderabad wrote to my father Shajee to come to Hyderabad; so he went to Hyderabad. After about 15 days Etilsingh came to Deogaon and asked me where Shajee was. I said he had gone to Hyderabad. Etilsingh then said the Rajah wants to see

Dhondee and myself; so we accompanied Etilsingh and came to Bhir and went straight to Kaka's house. We met the Rajah. All the persons I have mentioned before I saw again with the Rajah. We remained at Kaka's for 2 days, during which time people used to visit the Rajah who was putting up with the Kaka. The Rajah told Dhondee and myself, "I want money to pay the Resselah and Regiments." We said we had no money. He said commit dacoity. We said there is no money in any one's house, as during the famine of last year all valuables and money had been hidden up. The Rajah said, "I will give you information where there is money to be got; plunder that place." He then mentioned Natra as a village where a Vingah lived who had heaps of money. He also said there was a house at Sawre and at several other places lot of plunder would be obtained. He also said he would supply the required arms and ammunition.

Dhondee said, "The Natra man is a relative of ours. How can we loot his house?" The Rajah said loot him now and when I come to power I will give him a jagir of 10,000.

Two or three days after this we left and went to Deogaon, got together a gang and committed the Natra dacoity. The gang consisted of about 30 or 33 persons. Four Arabs of Wasee were among the dacoits; two were Government servants who are employed at the Tahsildar's Kacherri at Wasee and two were in the employ of one Ganoo Kotola of Bawla, Taluka Wasee.

Etilsingh came to Deogaon to join us in this dacoity but he got fever, so he did not accompany us but remained at Deogaon. After committing this dacoity we came back to Deogaon bringing all the plunder with us; the cash found was divided, each dacoit getting Rs. 20. The Arabs got one gold "Kadah", one silver "Thoda" and one silver "Kurdodah". All the loot which consisted of gold and silver jewellery was tied up in a Dhotee and put before Etilsingh who was to take it to the Rajah at Bhir. Etilsingh put a chit on this bundle. Next day information came to hand that one Ballu (arrested) had Rs. 800 in cash which he stole during the dacoity. He was followed up to Babulgaon, and I received Rs. 800 from him which I brought to Deogaon with Ballu and handed him over to Etilsingh and Dhondee. Next morning Etilsingh and Dhondee taking the Natra plunder with them went to Bhir.

Two or three days afterwards Dhondee returned alone to Deogaon. I asked him what he had done with the bundle of jewellery, etc. He said he had handed it over to Kaka.

After about 15 days later the Oopla dacoity was committed by the Deogaon gang headed by Dhondee. Etilsingh and Gopalsingh (who were both killed by the troops when we were arrested) accompanied us in this dacoity. All the plunder was got together (the jewellery, gold and silver) and tied up in a bundle. The cash found was divided among the dacoits, each getting from Rs. 10 to Rs. 20. The jewellery worth Rs. 400 in cash was taken by myself. Etilsingh and Gopalsingh were taken to Bir and handed over to Kaka at his house. I saw the Rajah. He complained that there was very little plunder. I said I had brought what we got. I remained one day in Kaka's house and then returned to Deogaon. I met Suddia Mang. He was a great dacoit and had put in 7 years in the Yerrawada Jail. Suddia Mang was sitting at Kaka's door and remarked "What sort of Rajah is this? Gets dacoities committed by us and takes the plunder". I was then sent for by the Baba and Kaka and told that Suddia Mang must be disposed of. A plan was formed and Suddia was conveyed with a friend of his to the Deogaon Wadee jungle where a large stack of old "Kar-bee" was kept. Both Suddia and his friend were murdered: their bodies were placed on the stack, which was set fire to and they were burnt to ashes. The murder was committed by myself and Mogiah Mang. We committed these two murders being ordered to do so by the Rajah through Kaka.

After 3 or 4 days the Mohtamim of Bir came to the village of Kasaree, Taluka Kaij, and arrested 3 persons, all of whom have confessed their crimes. We then thought we would be caught, so we bolted into the hills. Our number then was about 9 or 10 persons. We had 3 guns, 3 swords with us, and some powder and bullets which were supplied to us by the Kaka.

Dhondee and Aba Andla (the man arrested yesterday 4th June, '99) went to Bhir.

I with my party remained in the hills, and after a few days myself and one Dhondee Talee of Deogaon (arrested) came to Mag and went to Bapoorow Patil's (one of the leaders arrested), where we met one Gunpatee son of Patel Bowah and Mogiah Mang, another leader (arrested). This man said, "Kaka and the Rajah are coming to Mag. Send

for your men who are in the hills." I sent Dhondee and next morning my party arrived at Mag.

We remained two days at Mag in a hill near a well belonging to Bapoorow Patil.

On the 3rd day Kaka arrived from Amba alone. He was mounted on a pony belonging to Vital Rao. I told Kaka, "Here I am with my men in the Jungles. We have nothing to eat and Dhondee is at Bir, what am I to do?" He said, "I will send Dhondee to you and will send food with him; you must live by plunder." During the time we were at Mag (10 or 12 days) we got food from Bapoorow, and Mogiah Mang got food for us. On Kaka reaching Bir he sent Dhondee to Mag and Aba Andula came with him. It was from here we committed the Barampur dacoity. Etilsingh and Gopalsingh (servants of Kaka) joined us in this dacoity, as also about 10 or 12 persons of Mag. We got very little in the house we plundered. All that was looted was given to the Mag party who joined us.

The Mohtamim of Bir coming to a place called Daken Mohi, we bolted and went to Lakeer Wadee (the place where we were attacked by the Troops). The gang then consisted of about 30 persons under the leadership of Dhondee, Mogiah, Bapu Rao Patel and Etilsingh. Here we remained for 2 or 3 days. The Mohtamim of Bir coming to the village of Hura which is about a mile from Laker Wadee we bolted and went to the Sagerwadee jungles, from where we committed the Karee Oopla dacoity. There were 25 dacoits in this case. Etilsingh and Gopalsingh were among the dacoits. The plunder was divided; nothing was sent to Kaka at Bhir.

We remained about 8 or 10 days at Sagerwadee and then went to Devgaon Wadee where we remained in the hills. We used to get our food from Deogaon, dacoits going and bringing it to our camp.

While we were encamped at Deogaon Wadee the Mohatmim again appeared on the hill beneath which we were camping. He had I should say about 30 men with him, and our party consisted of about 30 dacoits. The Mohtamim's party fired two shots at us. They were about 500 yards away. We all got on the alert and formed into 3 parties, one remaining at our camp and one going to the right and the other to the left with the intention of surrounding the Mohtamim's

party, all three parties firing at them Mohatmim's party, which returned the fire. Some of the bullets of the Mohatmim's party reached us but we took cover. The Mohatmim's party then began to retire and we followed them for about a mile towards Dhypul, and losing sight of them we returned to our camp and came on to our old camp Lakerwadee.

We remained at Lakerwadee for about 15 days, from where we committed the Tarsona dacoity. While we were encamped at Lakerwadee we were reinforced by several men who joined us from Sagerwadee, Mag and Devgaon which increased our numbers to about 80 persons. Among them were several persons who had brought food to their relatives and several boys joined us having relatives among our gang.

The loot in the Tarsona dacoity was divided into 5 shares as follows:—

The Mag Party one share.

The Devgaon Party one share.

Etilsingh one share.

Mogiah Mag one share.

The fifth share I cannot say who took. None of the plunder obtained in the Tarsona dacoity was taken to Bhir.

Ammunition was sent by Kaka to our camp on 4 different occasions.

Pandoo of Devgaon was arrested while bringing cartridges to our camp and he is now a prisoner.

I forgot to mention that while I was at Kaka's house with the Rajah that a paper gun was made by him in this wise: An iron crowbar was produced and paper was wrapped round about 2 ft. of this crowbar till the paper was about six inches thick. It was then removed from the crowbar and an iron breach was fixed to it and after it was dry the Rajah loaded it putting a ball about the size of an egg, and it was fired. The ball, Etilsingh and one Gangasingh, servants of Kaka said, had struck a Musjid about a mile away. I did not notice or see the ball strike. I cannot say whether the ball was of metal or not. The Rajah told me that he could make large guns like the one he had shown me, and that one man could carry three such guns with him into the hills and use them when necessary. When the paper gun

was fired off from Kaka's Madee the following persons were present: Vithal Row, Bapu Keshav Vakeel, Kaka, his son Sirpathi and Bhau Row Gangadhar and several others.

I noticed a Mohamedan the other day who used to visit the Rajah at Kaka's. He used to bring his own matchlock and practise before the Rajah. This Mahomedan is a relative of one Ryen Khan, Munshi of Bhir. I know his house and can point it out.

I forgot to mention that while we were encamped at Lakerwadee, Vakeel Kaseeba, Moulvi Abdulla and Sarveth Ali came to our camp and told us that the Talukdar had sent them to persuade us to come out. We were all thinking of doing so, but Kaseeba Vakeel took me to one side and advised me not to come out as a few days things will be changed meaning that the Rajah would come to power. So we held back, but Bapurow Patel of Mag and Dhuria Dhair of Mag left our camp and went with the Vakeels to Bhir. After about 10 or 12 days Bapu Rao accompanied by Dhurria came to our camp at Sagerwadee and told us that he had given Rs. 2,000 security but had seen Kaka who had told him all would be well in a few days; so he returned and joined us.

The Rajah was a good shot and used to make others practise shooting.

Bapu Thasud Vakeel, Vithal Rao, Kaka, Bhaurow and Kaka's son Shirpathi used to practise with guns in Kaka's Bada.

I was educated in a school at Bhir when I was a boy. Kaka's sons used to attend this school. So I was friendly with the family.

While I was at Deogaon and when I gave up my share of the plunder I had I also gave up 3 spearheads I got from the Baba and Kaka at Bhir, and also gave up a flag they gave me. The flag had some words written on it and the head of a tiger is drawn on it."

(6)

Statement of Mohamed Azam, Mohtamim of Bhir.

"When the Natra dacoity occurred I started to investigate the case and arrested 4 of the offenders and got a little

property worth about 112 rupees and on making further enquiries I found that a great number of the dacoits, accomplices of the 4 men I had captured, had left their houses. So I came to Bhir and got Mr. Aher Ali the Joint Magistrate to take proceedings under Sections 87 and 88 of the I.P.C., and got 19 attachment warrants issued. Other dacoities followed in quite succession after the Natra case. I wrote for Arabs, Sikhs and Sawars. The Talukdar wrote to me saying he was coming with men to assist me but he never turned up. So I came to Bhir to see him on the 16th Ardibehsht (20th March) and reported all I had seen and done.

From the 16th to the 22nd Ardibehsht I remained in Bir and enquiries were set on foot regarding the intrigues of the Brahmin and the Baba. On the 22nd Ardibehsht (26th March) I received a D.O. letter from the Talukdar informing me that as some of the dacoits were coming in I should not attempt to capture them. Subsequently, I received another order from the Talukdar directing me to capture the dacoits. On the 23rd Ardibehsht (27th March '99) I went to meet Ahmed Khan at Peepilnair taking a confidential letter from the Talukdar which referred to the Brahmin intrigues at Bhir. On the 25th Ardibehsht (29th March) I came to Bhir and met Ahmad Khan. Arrangements were then made and three parties were told off as follows: party No. 1 under my command consisting of 15 constables and 10 Sikhs and 2 Sawars; party No. 2 under the command of the Amin of Bhir consisting of 10 constables 10 Sikhs and 4 Sawars and party No. 3 under Amin Ghoolam Yaseen Khan consisting of 4 constables, 2 Sawars and some Rohillas. Orders were given to operate against the dacoits. Ahmed Khan remained at Bhir.

I went to Mag taking party No. 2 with me. The Amin in command of party No. 2 said he could not manage the Sikhs. So I took the 10 Sikhs he had and gave him 10 constables out of the 15, I had with me. From Mag I went to Dokel Mahe sending my kit with a constable and a servant named Ahmed. The dacoits captured the servant and constable and looted the kit.

Getting information that the dacoits were at a place called Dewgaon Wadee I followed them and found them assembled in the hills. I fired on them and they returned the fire. This firing continued till sun down when I found my men had no cartridges. So I returned to Dhyphul and remained there. Of the Sikhs with me 4 men were mounted

on ponies and 10 were old men who were useless. I reported all this to Ahmed Khan. On the 4th April, I was ordered by Ahmed Khan to remain at a place called Nathenoor and on the 9th Khurdad (13th April) I was informed by Ahmed Khan that the Contingent troops were coming. I received certain instructions which I carried out. The next day the dacoits were attacked and captured.

Statement of Mogiya, son of Eetoo Mang, of Gunda Wadgaum, Taluka Bhir, one of the dacoits in custody.

During the time when the Jawaree fields were in full bearing, and what is called the "Hulda" time, one day Dhuria son of Gopalia Dhair of Mag, Taluka Bhir, came to me and said Bapoorow Patel of Mag wanted me at Mag, as a Rajah had arrived at Mag. I and Dhuria arrived at Mag that night. I went to the Mang Wada, and Dhuria went to Bapoorao Patel's house. This was about ten o'clock at night. After a little, one Gunpatrao, son of Vithalrao Karkoon of Bhir, came to the Mang Wada, where there is a well and a big stone. On this stone Gunpatrao sat and sent Dhuria Dhair to call me. I went and sat on the ground near the stone on which Gunpatrao was sitting; and Dhuria Dhair sat near me. Gunpatrao said, "I have been looking out for you for some time, but could not find your whereabouts." I said, "I have returned from the British Territory only four or five days ago, as I was in jail in that Illaqa, having put in one year's imprisonment." Gunpatrao then said, "what are you going to do now?" I said, "I have to put in a year's imprisonment in the Moghlai. You act as my Vakeel, and try and get this sentence quashed."

Gunpatrao remarked, "What is the use of troubling now. In two months time the Hindoo Raj will be in power". I laughed at this, upon which Gunpatrao said, "Come with me to Bhir, and I will show you the Rajah. Listen to what I say." I said, "What is that"? He said, "Get together armed men, and when I tell you, commence work. You must get 200 men ready". I said, "I am done up, being cut all over the body, being wounded by the Police, when they captured me, and I have not the strength to do as you say." Gunpatrao said, "Keep quiet for fifteen days, and I will see you again". After this Dhuria Dhair and Gunpatrao left. I remained in the Mang Wada. After some time, Dhuria Dhair came again to call me and took me to a Lohar's Wada in the village. I do not know this Lohar's name.

There I found Sivrao Kaka, Bapoorao Patel, and his brother Patel Bawa, and Bapoorao's son Gunpatrao and Jayram Gosai of Mag. This was about 2 o'clock in the morning. Sivrao Kaka, Bapoorao Patel and Gunpatrao, Vithalrao Karkoon's son, all told me, "You being such a brave man, why do you refuse to get together a gang as we want you?" I said, "I have not the strength left in me now". They said, "Get together the men, and you can keep to one side. You must join us in this work." Some jawaree was brought, and Kaka took it in his hand, and swore by the Jawaree that no harm would come to me if I did as they wished. Jawaree was put into my hands, and I was made to swear that I would not forsake the cause; and Kaka and the others swore that they would not betray me. After this Kaka and Gunpatrao Vakeel said, "Get us Rs. 10,000." I said, "Where can this be got from?". They said, "Comit dacoity". They then said, "A treasure of Rs. 10,000 is leaving Bhir tomorrow, and is going to Purlee. This treasure will be on a camel, and there will be two Rahtores with it. Kill the two Rahtores and loot this treasure". I said, "All right". Kaka said, "Give me one of your men, and he will go ahead of the camel and give you the news that the treasure is coming". I said, "All right". After this Kaka and Gunpatrao Vakeel said to me, "Now you must remain with Bapoorao Patel". After this the meeting broke up, and Kaka and Gunpatrao went back to Bhir.

After Kaka and Gunpatrao Vakeel left, I told Bapoorao Patel, "I will not loot the treasure, as the Rahtores will show fight and we will have to kill them and they will kill some of us". "Then leave this alone" was Bapoorao's reply. "Never mind, I will borrow four or five thousand rupees and give it to Kaka." Bapoorao was arranging this loan, when I warned him not to give this money till we saw the Raja. Bapoorao agreed to this.

After about fifteen days, Gopalsing (son of Etilsing, who were both servant of the Kaka, and were both killed during the attack by the Contingent troops) came to Mag and said the Kaka had sent him for the Rs. 10,000 which was wanted. Gopalsing then remarked, "If you have not the money, the orders of the Rajah and the Kaka are to commit dacoity". Gopalsing suggested the Marvadee's house at Sircy, a village in British territory in the Nugger District. This village is about four miles from the Moghlai border. I got together a gang of 8 of my men, Gopalsing bringing 3,

making in all 12 dacoits. We started from Mag and assembled at a place called Peery-chi-Taikreen, about 10 miles from Mag. Here we were joined by Dhondee, Abdool, Suria Dhair, Aba Andlia of Deogaum, and Etilsing of Bhir. Dhondee was mounted on a pony (a mare). I asked Dhondee, "Why have you come?" He said the Kaka had told him that I was going to commit a dacoity at Sircy and had ordered him to join me. Not having met Dhondee for a long time, we began to chat. I asked Dhondee, "What is your opinion regarding the Rajah's movement?" Dhondee said, "It looks all right". I said, "If he is a Rajah, why is he in want, and wants to be supplied with money?" Dhondee said, "He wants money to get arms and ammunition"; and then remarked, "I have given the Rajah all the loot I got in a dacoity I committed at Natia." While we were talking, a snake made its appearance and Dhondee said, "This is a bad sign. Do not commit this dacoity." So we returned, putting up in the jungles of the village of Kunsu. Here we separated,—Dhondee, Etilsing, Gopalsing, Puria Dhair, Aba Andlia and Abdool going towards Bhir, and I and my party going towards Mag.

About eight days after this, one Yassia Dhair of Deogaum came to Mag. He said, "Gopalsing and Etilsing are at Deogaum, and Kaka is expected. So I have been sent by Dhondee to bring you to Deogaum." So I and Yassiaya started for Deogaum; and on arrival there, we met Gopalsing and Etilsing. Mag is 10 miles from Deogaum. After some talk, the Kara Oopla dacoity was planned and carried out. All the jewellery looted was tied up in a bundle, the dacoits only getting from 10 to 20 rupees each. This bundle of jewellery was, I believe, taken by Etilsing, Gopalsing and Jayvanta of Bhir, and was, I believe, handed over to the Kaka and the Rajah, not present when the bundle was despatched to Bhir, but was when it was tied up and sealed up. After this dacoity, I returned to Mag, and from there went to my village Gundee Wadgaum. After 3 or 4 days, I came back to Mag, and was putting up in Bapoorao Patel's Malla, where I was informed that the Rajah and Kaka had arrived at Mag. Thinking they would remain for 2 or 3 days, I go to meet them. But after a little, the Rajah, Kaka, Bapoorao Patel, Patel Bawa, Jayram Gosai, Jaywenta Dhair and other Dhairs and Ramosees, Mag Shajee with Dhuria Dhair, Gopalsing, and Gunpatrao, son of Latail Bawa of Mag, all came to the Malla where I was. The Rajah was mounted on Bapoorao

Patel's pony, and Kaka was also mounted, and Gunpatrao mounted on the Rajah's horse.

The Rajah examined the wounds on my body, and remarked, "Now is the time to fight. Get together 2 or 3 hundred men". I said, "All right". Just then Kaka remarked, "Yes Mogya will assemble men". The Rajah said, "I will pay each man." The Rajah also remarked, "I will supply arms and ammunition". I then asked the Rajah if he had received a bundle of property sent him by Gopalsing. He said, "Yes, Yes, I received it". The Rajah had a S.B.B.L. gun with him, from which he fired a shot to show how far the bullet carries. The Rajah then remarked, "I will get you all guns like this." After some more talk the Rajah, Gunpatrao, son of Patel Bawa, Kaka, and Gopalsing went towards the Purlee road. Myself and Dhuria accompanied them for about a mile and then returned to Mag. Gopalsing returned to Bhir on the 3rd day. About fifteen days after the Rajah left Gunpatrao Patail returned also to Mag and next day Kaka arrived. I asked them where the Rajah was and they said the Rajah had gone to Aurangabad to make the necessary arrangements about the Contingent Troops joining the Rajah. They also said that the Contingent Troops at Amba were paid 10,000 rupees and were bought over. Kaka said, "Go ahead, loot away, do not fear the Police. We have the Sikhs on our side as also the Line Wallas. If the Amba Resala comes, the men will fire only blank cartridges at you." After this meeting I never saw the Kaka again. Etilsing and Gopalsing, his servants, used to meet me. All the crime I took part in was instigated by the Kaka and Rajah I forgot to mention the murder of Suddia Mang and his associate. This crime was committed by myself and Jaivanta under orders from the Kaka which were conveyed to us by Etilsing, the Kaka's servant. The reason for causing Sudhia Mang's murder was because he said something which annoyed the Rajah and Kaka. We had no ill-will towards Suhdia Mang or his associate.

(8)

Statement of Dhondi, son of Ethoba of Dewgaon, leader of the dacoits.

"In the cold weather, last year, about the time the big jawaree is sown, Etilsing, Kaka's servant, came to Deogaum alone. He said Kaka wanted me at Bhir. I enquired,

“What is the reason for sending for me?” Etilsing said, “A Guroo has arrived, and is putting up at Kaka’s. So you are wanted to meet this Guroo”. So I accompanied Etilsing to Bhir, where I put up in Kaka’s Wada. I was introduced to the Guroo by the Kaka. This was on the Madee of Kaka’s house. I fell at this Guroo’s feet. Vithalrao Karkoon was then there, as also Bapoo Kased Vakeel, Gungadhar *alias* Bhaurao Vakeel, Sripat Kaka’s son and Govindrao, a relation of Kaka’s. Kaka and Vithalrao remarked to the Guroo that I was the Deogaum Patel and that I would give them the assistance they wanted. The Guroo said he had made all the necessary “Bandobast” and had got all the people of Hindostan on his side and that the time had come to take action and that the Brahmin Raj would soon be in power, and that arms would be supplied and soon and so forth. I said, “How will this even be done?” After some more talk I said, “All right when all join, I will follow”. The Guroo then said, “I will go to Aurangabad and bring some spears, and make some further Bandobast. I will return to Bhir and you will then see how matters stand”. I then left Bhir and returned to Deogaum. I told all this to Shajee Patel, my brother. He said, “This is all rot. Are you mad. It is all lies”. Shajee went to Bhir and returned to Deogaum, and said, “I have seen Kaka and the others, and I am of opinion that these Brahmins are all liars.” My brother then went to Hyderabad. After some time the Deshpandia of Tambaone, *viz.*, Bapoorao, and one Rungrao Deshmukh of Kullum, arrived at Deogaum. They had three guns and one carbine with them. They put up in the village Chondee. I had a long talk with them. They said, “Have you heard anything?” I said, “I know nothing”. They then said, “How is it you say you know nothing, when we hear that Kaka had sent for you to Bhir”? I said, you tell us what is the news”. On this Bapoorao said, “We have been to Aurangabad, and seen the Rajah with our own eyes, and the whole thing is ‘Pucka’; and that Kaka had given them the guns they had with them. In the morning this party left, and I came to Bhir, as Bapoorao and Rungrao said the Kaka wanted me. On arriving at Bhir I put up at Kaka’s. Next day Bapoo Kased Vakeel came from Aurangabad, bringing with him five spearheads, and said that 2,000 spears were being got ready, as also guns. Of the five spearheads, Bapoo Kased brought from Aurangabad, Kaka gave me two, and after some days another spear-head. These are the three spear-heads, which were found at Deogaum by Mr. Stephenson. Kaka said, “You must look sharp now. A

grand time has come, and you will be rewarded. So commence getting arms ready." After this I returned to my village and the next day the Rajah arrived at Bhir and Etilsing was sent to Deogaum by the Kaka, and I was summoned to Bhir. I accompanied Etilsing, and came to Bhir and saw the Rajah, who was putting up with the Kaka. I fell at his feet. The Rajah said he had made all Bandobast with the Contingent Troops at Aurangabad, and that he had only to arrange matters in the Bhir and Dharashiv Districts. He then gave me a flag. This flag was given up to Mr. Stephenson at Deogaum, when he came there. When the flag was handed to me, the Rajah said, "Now mind, keep this flag and when my troops, with the Contingent, will come, show them this flag, and they will understand your party belongs to me, and will not hurt you". Bapoo Kased Vakeel and all the people (males) of Kaka's house were present. The Rajah then said, "The Kaka is your 'Malik'. You will have to supply him with money. I said, "What have I to give?" The Rajah said, "You are going to loot the country, and you will get lots of money. Go in for dacoity first; and then the regular fighting will take place afterwards". After this I went back to my village, and committed the Natia dacoity; and the jewellery, etc., was all handed over to the Rajah and Kaka by myself and Etilsingh. In the same way the Oopla dacoity was committed and the plunder handed over to the Rajah and the Kaka. I forgot to mention that when the Deshpandia of Tamba came to my village with the man Bapoorao as before stated, that Kaka sent me three boxes of cartridges.

On the capture of certain of my accomplices in the Natia Dacoity, I got alarmed and came with one Aba Andila to Bhir, and came to Kaka's house. We found that both the Rajah and Kaka had gone to Purlee. Govindrao, son-in-law of the Kaka and Gungadhar *alias* Bhowrao told me they would show me a place to hide in. So we were taken there and food was supplied from Kaka's house. We remained hidden for fifteen days in this house. Gungadhar sent a camel to Purlee or Amba to the Kaka, with a letter telling him that I was in Bhir and that the Police were arresting those connected with the Natia dacoity. After a day or two, the Kaka came to Bhir from Mag. The Kaka came to my hiding place and told me the Rajah had paid the Amba Risalla people Rs. 11,000 and 300 Gold Mohurs, and they had been bought over to the Rajah's side. Kaka said, "Some of the Deogaum people are at this moment at Mag.

Go there and meet them, and also see Gunpatrao, son of Patel Bawa, before whom the money was paid to the Risalla people, so that they may not fight against us." I said, "All this looks very well; but how can I fight the Sircar?". Kaka said, "When a man of your position takes action, all the others will follow". I said, "Let me see the Rajah again, as I cannot take action and collect men to fight". Kaka then said, "Never mind if you will not join, but when the Rajah comes to power, he will destroy you and your family". Kaka further remarked, "If you come to grief over this, I will recompense you. Oaths were taken with Tulsī Patra when the Contingent was bought over, and so commence work".

Kaka gave me a letter to the Rajah, which I was to take to him at Aurangabad. This letter was in a leather bag, which the Contingent Troopers took from me. I went from Bhīr to Mag, and met Gunpatrao and Bapoorao Patels. Jaywenta of Deogaum was then near a well belonging to Bapoorao. He had several men with him. Gunpatrao told me that the Rajah had said that the Risalla people at Amba were given Rs. 11,000 before him, and they were all bought over, and that this was certain, and that there was nothing to fear from them and so on. So I joined the Mag gang, and we all took to the jungles, and committed much crime. I forgot to mention that I went to meet Mogiya, being sent by Kaka, who said that Mogiya was going to commit dacoity at Sircy, in British territory."

Note:—Here this man gives a very clear account of his doings, and fully corroborates Mogiya in every way. So there is no need of repeating the story over again here. After his statement he was cross-examined in the following manner:—

- Q. How many times did you come to Bhīr in connection with this Baba's case?
- A. I came about ten times.
- Q. Where did you put up while at Bhīr?
- A. In Kaka's Bada and he used to give me food. I several times brought as many as half a dozen persons with me, all of whom were fed and lodged in Kaka's house.
- Q. Did you hear or see Sadiya Mang say that the Baba was no Rajah, as he wanted people to commit dacoity and give the plunder?

- A. No. but I heard that he did so from Kaka, who said Sadiya Mang was a great Badmash.
- Q. How many meetings did you attend, and how were present at these meetings?
- A. About a dozen times. At these meetings I recognised the following persons:—
1. Bapoo Kased Vakeel of Bhir.
 2. Govindarao, Vakeel of Bhir.
 3. Vithalrao Karkoon.
 4. Rajaram Brahmin, of the Mohtamim's office (this man must be Rungrao).
 5. The Subedar of the Line wallahs.
 6. Rungrao Kowlia.
 7. Kaseeba Pateel Vakeel.
 8. Mahdeosing Hindustanee, and some others whose names I do not know, but whom I can recognise.

Kaka gave me one gun and one sword, and one blunderbuss was given by Bapoo Kased Vakeel to Etilsing, Kaka's servant. Kaka sent gunpowder and caps several times to us, while we were in the hills.

- Q. Did the persons, whom you have named above, hear what all the Kaka and the Rajah said about the Hindu or rather Brahmical power being about to come to power?
- A. Yes; they heard every word, and they all said whatsoever the Rajah says is true, and were it not for this, I mean the Vakeels saying so, and all these Vakeels being well-known to me, I would never have joined in this business.

(9)

Statement of Bapoorao, son of Abajee Patel of Mag, Taluqa Bhir, one of the dacoits in custody.

“ About the Hulda time or about 10 or 15 days after the Devali, Vithalrao's son, whom I know as Rajajee, but whose name is I believe Gunpatrao came to Mag. I know both father and son, the father being a Karkoon and his son a Vakeel. He said a Rajah had come to Bhir, and was putting up with the Kaka, and that his father Vithalrao had sent him to call me to come to Bhir to see the Rajah. So I came next day to Bhir, and went to Vithalrao's house. He said a

Rajah had come to Bhir. I said, "Let me see him." So Vithalrao and myself came to the Kaka's house. There we met the Rajah. The following persons were then with the Rajah: 1. Sivrao Kaka, 2. Bapporao Kased Vakeel, 3. Pundarinath Vakeel, 4. Govindrao Vakeel, 5. The Moharrir of the Ameen Kutchary of Bhir, and several others whom I cannot name or recognise; but there were in all about 15 or 20 persons present. Others were also going and coming. Shajee Patel of Deogaon was also there. He is the brother of Dhondee. The Kaka and Vithalrao said, "You must join the Rajah, as he is a Hindoo." Kaka said, "Why have you not given an answer?" I said, "I will go and ask my brother Jaujee, and after taking his advice will let you know." One Jayram Gosai was with me. He has now absconded. Kaka asked me when I would come back from my village. I said in three or four days. So we left Bhir and came back to Mag. I told my brother about meeting the Rajah, &c., &c. My brother Jaujee said "I will come with you, and bring our other brother Anna and Jayram Gosai with us." So we all came to Bhir, and went to the Kaka's house, where we found Vithalrao Kaka and Shajee Patel with the Rajah. Kaka on seeing us remarked, "Have you made up your mind to join and assist the Rajah?" I asked the Kaka, "What benefit will I derive if I join the Rajah?" Then the Rajah said, "When I come to power, you will get a Jaghire." On this I said all right. I was then given three spear-heads, which are now with me (since handed up). I asked, "When will the Rajah come to power?" He said after the Sudee Padwa (Hindoo New Year). Next day we all went back to Mag. About twenty days after this, Rajajee, Vithalrao's son, and Kaka came again to Mag, and said, "Why have you got men together, and gone in for dacoity, as the Police have been ill-using you?" (He referred to Jemadar Shum-suddin beating me, &c.) I said I could not commit dacoity. Kaka said, "All right, if you will not go in for dacoity, will you not get armed men together, and take to the hills and Jungles?" I said, "All right, I will do this." After this Kaka and Rajajee went back to Bhir.

After three or four days, Kaka's son Sripatee and Vithalrao's son Rajajee came again to Mag, and said the Deogaon people had gone in for dacoity, and asked us, what we were about. Mahdeosing Hindustanee, Etilsing and his son Gopalsing were with Kaka's son. They proposed that a dacoity should be committed on the house of a Patail at Lalondee, which is a Jaghire village, belonging to the Rajah

Ray Rayan. I refused to allow this, as this village was close to Mag. Etilsing remarked that I was a fool, and after some further talk, the party left Mag and returned to Bhir. After two or three days, I came again to Bhir and went to see the Rajah and Kaka, where we found the following persons assembled:—

All the persons I have named above, namely Bapoo Kased and the seven other persons were present, as also,

1. Dhamoo Bundaloo.
2. The Subedar of the Linewallas, whom I saw yesterday. He had two or three other Linewallas with him. There were also two Sikhs, whom I can recognise, and several others.

On coming before the Rajah, he enquired when I had come. I said, "I have just arrived." After all those assembled had left except myself, Shajee Patel, Vithalrao, Jayram Gosai of my village, and Kaka I told the Rajah I could not commit dacoity; upon which the Rajah remarked, "Collect armed men and assist Dhondee of Deogaum." I said all right, and then left for Mag. After seven or eight days, the Rajah, Kaka and Gopalsing came to Mag. They put up in a new house I am building. I got them food cooked by one Bow Bhut of my village; and after taking their meals, they mounted their ponies, and I accompanied them to my sugar-cane field, where a sugar-cane mill was working. They all had some sugar-cane juice. Some Dhairs and Mangs also accompanied the Rajah. Here Mogiaya Mang, who had been sent for by Dhuria Dhair, came up. The Rajah and Kaka told Mogiaya Mang, "You must join the Deogaum gang." Mogiaya said all right. About four days before the Rajah came to Mag, as I have above described, a dacoity was planned at the village of Sirsi in British territory, which is about fourteen miles from Mag. But some ill-omen was seen. So the gang returned to Mag. Dhondee was among the dacoits. After having a chat with Mogiaya as described above, the Rajah, Kaka, and Gopalsing started from Mag for Purlee, accompanied by Gunpatrao, my relation (Bhateejah).

After about ten or twelve days, Gunpatrao arrived at Mag alone. He said the Rajah had bought over the Amba Risalla, and paid them Rs. 10,000 and that Nana Saheb, the Deshpandia of Purlee, had also joined the Rajah. After

three or four days the Kaka arrived at Mag. He said, "Join Dhondee." Jawenta of Deogaum was then in the hills quite close to Mag. He had a gang with him, and met the Kaka and said, "What am I to do? Dhondee is at Bhir and I am all alone here." Kaka said, "I will send Dhondee to you on my return to Bhir." After this the Kaka left, and next day Dhondee arrived at Mag. I did not see him when he arrived, but saw him next day.

Just then a Jemadar of Police, of the Dharashiv District, came to Mag to arrest Patel Bawa and Yesenttia Vingurh. On the Jemadar appearing at Mag, we all absconded,—I mean myself, Mogiya Mang and Dhondee. With us there were about thirty persons of Mag and Deogaum. We escaped in the Daken Mohe Jungles. Here we were informed by Shanrao, a Brahmin Gomasta Patel, who sent a Dhair, named Pandoo to tell us the Police had arrived. So we moved our camp to Laker Wadee. While we were thus knocking about, messages used to be sent to us by Kaka, "Keep together; get others to join you. Be not afraid, the time is close at hand when the Rajah will come to power."

While we were at Laker Wadee, Vakeels Moulvi Abdulla, Sarwar Ali and Kaseerao came to our camp and persuaded me to return to Bhir. So I, Dhuria Dhair and my brother Anna accompanied the Vakils and came to Bhir, and went before the Talukdar. Kaka then sent Vithalrao's son to me, and I went to see Kaka. He said, "Why did you return? Go back at once you fool." I paid Rs. 15 for uniform to the Kaka, but I did not get it as it was to be sent for from other places. My name was entered in the Bahee.

"The Talukdar released us on security, and told me to bring back Gunpatrao and Gangu Patel of Mag, who were my relations and who were with the dacoits. I said all right. I then went back to my village, where I remained for three or four days, and then joined the dacoits again, and was captured with them by the Contingent Troops."

(10)

Statement of Dhuria, son of Gopalia Dhair of Mag, in custody.

"About the Hulda time of the season last year, Vithalrao Karkoon's son Rajajee, who is a Vakeel, came to Mag, and

put up at Lohar Appa's Wada. Bapoorao Patel came to meet him, and after some talk Bapoorao, Rajajee and myself, with Jayram Gosai, came to Bhir, and went to the Kaka's house. I being a Dhair did not go up to where the Rajah was, but all the others went, and on their return to where I was, they all said that the Rajah told them that a new Raj was to come into power, and to get the people to rise and commit dacoities, and that he would see to everyone's comforts. After this, we—I mean the Mag party I have named above—returned to Mag. Gunpatrao and Bapoorao Patels had a talk and enquiries were made for Mogiya Mang, and I was sent to bring him. I went and brought Mogiya to Mag and he went to the Mang Wada. I went to Bapoorao Patel's house and reported that Mogiya had arrived." (Note:—This man corroborates witness No. 3, Bapoorao, in every way).

(11)

Statement of Mahadeos'ng, son of Goomasing of Chinchollee, near Bir.

"About the Hulda time last year, Sripatrao, Kaka's son, came to Chicholee, my village, and said his father wanted to see me. So I came to Bhir, and went to Kaka's house. Kaka introduced me to the Maharaj (Baba). A goldsmith was then working at a silver plate, and the Rajah was busy with his dumb-bells. The goldsmith's name is Narayan of Bhir. The Rajah said nothing to me. I noticed one Vasudeo Dhotaker Vakeel was there with the Rajah. After a little I left and next day I went again to Kaka's house, where I saw Rungrao, the Moharrir of the Ameen's Kutchery. He went away and then Bapoorao Kased Vakeel came and began to talk with the Rajah: and when Rungrao Kallia Karkoon came, I left.

Next day Sripatrao came to call me. I went to Kaka's house. The Rajah then left the Madee he was in and came to another Madee and I met him there alone. The Rajah asked me all about my caste, and where I lived in Hindoostan, and how I gained my living. After some further talk the Rajah said, "The time is now come when your luck will change ("Naseeb Khul Jayga") and then asked me would I join in a religious war. I said I was alone. He said, "Have you any people in your country (Hindoostan), who would assist you?" I said, "yes." He then said, "You must go to Hindoostan, and bring 10,000 men I will give a Karkoon with you." This meeting then broke up. I met Kaka,

who said, "*Have you seen the Maharaj?*" I said, "yes." He said, "*Obeys his orders.*" I then went home. I did not go near Kaka's for two or three days. So Sripatrao was sent to call me and I came to Kaka's, where I met the Rajah. The question of sending for men from Hindoostan was again spoken of. One Vasudeorao Dhhotakar, who was then present, was told off as my Karkoon. I asked him if he would come and he said yes. This matter was then dropped.

One day Dhondee and 7 or 8 others of Deogaum arrived at Kaka's house and were put up in his yard. I do not know what took place between Dhondee, the Rajah and Kaka but Dhondee's party left. Then Suddiya Mang came to Kaka's house. He was alone and Etilsing used to feed him. During this time the following Vakeels, etc., used to visit the Rajah:—

1. Bapoorao Kased Vakeel.
2. Govindrao Chapulkar Vakeel.
3. Narayanrao Karkoon of the 2nd Talukdar's Kutchery, and two or three other Brahmins used to come with Narayanrao.
4. Damodar, Kulkarni of Gunpateeka Peepree, but who lives in Bir.
5. Dajee Munsubdar.
6. Kishenrao Vakeel.
7. Vithalrao Karkoon
8. Dhano Bundala Buih. He was given order to have supplies ready; and many other Brahmins of Bir used to visit the Rajah. I also noticed the Brahmin Karkoon, who is in the Sikh force, coming to the Rajah's.

The chief supporters of the Rajah were:—

1. Rungrao Kowlia Karkoon.
2. Vithalrao Karkoon.
3. Bapoorao Kased Vakeel.
4. Govindrao Chapulkar Vakeel.
5. Wasudeo Datrekar Vakeel.

Bapoorao Kased gave a blunderbuss to Etilsing and it was given to Dhondee. Ammunition was supplied by Kaka.

(12)

Statement of Aba, son of Heerajee Andlia of Deogaum, in custody:-

Speaks to being Dhondee in hiding at Bir, and supplied with food from Kaka's house, and going from Bir to Mag with Dhondee and being with the gang, who assembled to commit the Sirsi dacoity in British Territory &c. &c.

(13)

Statement of Bowdev, son of Dhondebutt Bheem of Mag.

"About the Hulda time last year two Brahmins came to Mag and were put up at Bapoorao's new Wada. I was ordered to get dinner ready for them and was supplied by Bapoorao's people with the usual articles, such as Ghee, Ata, Dal &c. &c. I cooked the dinner and then two Brahmins ate it. I do not know their names but can recognise them."

(14)

Statement of Appa, son of Byroo Lohar of Mag.

"About the Hulda time last year I remember two Brahmins putting up in my Wada. They had two ponies with them. They went into the village to take their food. Bapoorao Patel met these two Brahmins. Jayaram Gosai, Gunpatrao Patel and others also came there."

(15)

Statement of Shahjee, son of Heerajee Mang of Mag.

"Two Brahmins came to Mag last year about the Hulda time. They were mounted on ponies. After having their food, they went to Bapoorao Patel's Mulla, where they had some sugar-cane juice. Mogya Mang was at the Mulla and met them, and they had a talk. I did not hear what was said. I know one of these Brahmins. His name is Kaka of Bir. The other Brahmin, I do not know who he was. After having a chat with Mogiya, they left Mag, going towards the Dewlia Road. Gunpatrao Patel of Mag went with the two Brahmins. He was also mounted on a horse. One of the two Brahmins, I think, was Kaka. He was mounted on a pony belonging to Bapoorao Patail.

About fifteen days after this Gunpatrao returned alone to Mag.

"I know Gunpatrao Vakeel and Kaka, as they often came to Mag, and put up at Appa Lohar's house."

(16)

Statement of Jayah, son of Srccram Dher of Mag

"About the Hulda time last year, I remember two Brahmins coming to Mag. They were both mounted on horses. I was too busy looking after their horses to notice anything particular. They went to Bapoorao's Mulla, and after having some sugar-cane juice left. They met Mogia Mang at the Mulla. I did not see them start, but I know that Gunpatrao Patel returned after about 8 or 15 days after these Brahmins left. The Brahmins' horses were tied up in Bapoorao's Wada."

(17)

Statement of Pandoo, son of Hanmantia Vingurh of Deogaum, in custody.

"About fifteen days before the Contingent Troops attacked the dacoits at Laker Wadee, I and Kustna, son of Mahdoo Vingurh, were sent from Deogaum by Dhondee and Jaywentia to Bir to Kaka's. We were asked to see Kaka and bring word back. So we started from Deogaum and come to Kaka's house. We found he was not at home. Here we met a Brahmin, thirty years of age, with heavy moustache, rather fair. This man asked us who we were. We said we were sent by Dhondee and Jaywentia to get news from Kaka. This Brahmin then handed me a small box, which he directed to be given to Dhondee, and to tell Dhondee that Kaka had gone to some village.

We started for Deogaum, where we were stopped by a Police Sowar, who asked us who we were. We said we were of Deogaum, upon which the Sowar searched us and the small box was taken from me. This occurred near the village Borekadee. The Sowar took us to Hura, where the packet was opened and found to contain gun-caps. Here a "Punchnama" was held and then the Sowar took us to Mag, where an Ameen Saheb and several Police were present. They brought us to Bir. The day Dhondee sent us to Bir,

that the unfortunate *Dak* runner, whose name is Mohiuddin, he was at Guppawadee, in the jungles, a place near the village of Eda. He had about thirty persons with him, who were more or less armed. When we left Deogaum it was four days after the Holi festival of last year."

Note:—From information given by Jaivantia and Dhondi it is evident that these two men Pandu and Kustana were sent to the Kaka's at Bir four or five days after the Karaoopla dacoity. So this must be about the end of March or the beginning of April 1899, as the Karaoopla dacoity took place on 25th March 1899.

(18)

Statement of Javantia, son of Shaji of Dewgoan, in custody.

"I am in custody for being concerned with Dhondi in the late dacoities, which have taken place in this District. The Baba and Kaka were the chief persons who led us on to commit these crimes. Meetings were held in Kaka's house to which the following persons came, and the question of the Brahmanical Raj being about to come into power was discussed and explained to us:—

- (1) Vithalrao Karkun.
- (2) Bapu Kasid Vakil.
- (3) Kashirao Vakil.
- (4) Punderinath Vakil.
- (5) Rungrao Kowlia, a government servant employed at Bir.
- (6) Rungrao Moharrir, Amin's Kacheri, Bir.
- (7) Bowrao, employed in the Mothmim's office.
- (8) Gunpatrao, son of No. 1, vakil.
- (9) The Sawari Peshkar. I do not know his name but he is employed in the Sowi Theshildar's Kacheri.

When Dhondi and myself were encamped in the jungles of the village of Supavadi, we sent Pandu (witness No. II) and Kushna to Bir to Kaka's for some caps and to bring news. They were both arrested and never returned to us. I saw with our eyes Goldsmith Narayen at Kaka's making or rather engraving on breast plates of silver. The Baba used to assist the goldsmith. In the middle of the plate there was a figure of a head of a lynx and a bird. The Baba

said the lynx represented the present Government, and the bird represented the Brahminical Government, which would eat the lynx up. The figure of the bird was placed over the head of the lynx, as is shown on the flag I gave up to Mr. Stephenson at Deogaum. There was something written on these plates in Sanskrit, as is on the flag I gave up. The Baba told me that when I met anyone who said he belonged to his (the Baba's) party, I was first to ask him what the meaning of the word "phareb" was, and if he replied the meaning was a lynx and a bird, then I was to conclude that that person belonged to his party.

Note:—The pass word of Baba was no doubt "Phareb."

All the plunder in the Wasee, Ooplee and Natia dacoities was handed up to the Kaka and the Baba at Bir by myself and Dhondee.

It was by the orders given by the Kaka and Baba that Suddiya Mang and the other Mang with him were murdered and burnt, as I have stated in my confession. The pony which Suddiya had with him was also destroyed by Yeknathia Mang, under instructions received.

The Kaka had an account book, "Bahee", in which all monies received were entered, and all accounts due, that is to say when (a) paid for his uniform, the amount paid was entered in this book, and if (b) promised to pay, his name was entered in this book. Myself and Dhondee paid Rs. 75 for uniforms for 5 of his gang. This amount is entered in this book. This book was kept by Bapoo Kased Vakeel of Bir.

I was informed that one day the Baba and one Govindrao, a "Bhanjah" of Kaka's, went to the Khajana Bagh to bathe. They met the Ningoor *Dak* runner coming to Bir with the *Dak* bags. The runner asked the Baba who he was, upon which he kicked him down and beat him. This information I received from Govindrao, but I cannot say whether it is correct. Enquiry will clear this up.

The Baba had a lot of patterns of cloth (Khakee). These he used to show us and remark, "This is the best colour to make uniforms." (*Note:* The information, regarding the Baba beating the *Dak* runner, is correct, as I find a Misal of a case in the Mohtamim's office, No. 4 of 1308 F. The offence occurred on the 11th January, '99. It is to be regretted

that the unfortunate *Dak* runner, whose name is Mohiuddin, was sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 20 for making a false complaint.)

“The Kaka gave me one sword and one gun, as also the three spear-heads I gave up to Mr. Stephenson at Deogaum. The Baba used to go to Khajana Bagh, which is about 2 or 2½ miles from here, every day to bathe. He used sometimes to go on horseback, but generally on foot. Kaka, Vithalrao, and Kaka's male relations used to sometimes accompany him.”

(19)

Statement of Asunath Yeknath, Constable, Bir Police.

“I am a Brahmin by caste, and am now six years in the service as a constable. My house is quite close to that of Sivarao Kaka's. The Baba paid two visits to Bir. One about a year ago, and the other about five or six months ago. He used to put up with the Kaka. When the Baba came meetings used to be held at Kaka's house. The following persons used to come there:—

1. Dhondee, now in custody.
2. Bapoorao, now in custody.
3. Vithalrao Karkoon.
4. Dattu Pant Vakeel.
5. Bapoo Kased Vakeel.
6. Keshavrao Vakeel.

The late Taluqdar took my statement regarding the Brahminical intrigues at Bir.

Several others used to come to Kaka's during the time the Baba was there. The Baba, Keshavrao Vakeel and Kaka used to go for miles, mounted on ponies. The Baba used to leave Bir for months together and then return again. Kaka was the Baba's great friend and assistant.”

- Q. Why did you repeat the fact of these meetings taking place to the Mohtamim?
- A. I repeated this to the Mohtamim, about a month before the dacoits were attacked by the Contingent. He said all right, and told me to work up the information, but no action was taken.

*Statement of Yeknathia, son of Maloo Mang of Deogaum,
in custody*

"Dhondee ordered me to destroy Suddiya Mang's pony. So myself Suria Dhair's (who is now in custody) brother Jania took the animal into the jungles, and cut its trunk. At first I refused to do this. But Dhondee said, "What are you afraid of? Suddiya has been polished off." I heard a rumour that Suddiya had been murdered by Mogiya and Javentia. But I knew nothing of the facts of the case."

(21)

*Statement of Chudia, son of Rama Dhair of Deogaum,
in custody.*

"I came to Bir about ten or twelve times, being sent by Dhondee to Kaka. I took letters from Dhondee to Kaka four or five times, and was often sent to find out if the Rajah had arrived at Bir. This was at the Hulda season of the year, last year. Kaka used to answer Dhondee's letters, which I used to give to Dhondee at Deogaum. When I used to go to the Kaka's house, I often saw a number of Brahmins assembled there. Among them I could recognise the following persons:—

1. Vithalrao Karkoon.
2. Rungrao Kowlia Vakeel.
3. Bapoorao Kased Vakeel.

I did not go up the Madee, being a Dhair, but could not see from below the persons who were assembled in the Madee. I saw the Baba several times at Kaka's house, and can recognise him. I remember coming to Bir with the following persons with Dhondee,—this was in the cold season, when the Bajree fields were being reaped, (1) Dhondee, (2) Dhondee Tailee, (3) Abdool, (4) Sewria Dhair, one of the dacoits who have absconded and (5) Aba Andlia.

The reason of Dhondee taking all these persons with him was that we said we wanted to see the Raja with our own eyes, before we would take to plundering.

We all put up in Kaka's Wada and were fed by him. A Mahomedan Camelman of the Kaka's named Ameer Khan used to cook my food, the Ata and Dal being supplied by Kaka. When we arrived at Bir, all the Hindoos, I mean Dhondee and others, were put up in Kaka's Madee, and we

Dhairs, I mean myself and No. 4 were put up in a shed, where Kaka had a Karkhana. The day after we arrived we were all taken before the Rajah, who was then in another Madee. The Kaka and Rajah were there. We were introduced by the Kaka. The conversation was all about wanting money to pay the Risalla, and the Rajah and Kaka said commit dacoity, and get together money. After some more talking, in which the Rajah said that his Raj would soon come into power, and he would give employment to every one of those who collected plunder and brought it to him. We remained two days at the Kaka's and then returned to Deogaum and commenced operations by committing the Natia dacoity. All the plunder in this case was taken to Bir by Etilsing and Dhondee. The dacoits who numbered about 30 only got a few Rupees each in cash. The Rajah and Kaka told us they had got the Amba Risalla on their side, and that if they even came, they would not use ball ammunition. If the camelman Ameer Khan is asked he will be able to say where he went to on account of the Rajah, as he used to be sent by the Kaka on missions all over the country, on account of the Rajah. All the plunder in the Oopla dacoity was taken to Bir by Etilsing and Jawenta. The dacoits who were about 25 in number only got a few Rupees each in cash."

(22)

Statement of Dhondee Tailer, son of Parappa of Deogaum, in custody.

"I remember coming to Bir, with the following persons, about the time the Bajree was being reaped last year:— 1. Dhondee, 2. Chudia Dhair, 3. Suria Dhair, 4. Aba Andlia and 5. Abdoola.

The reason of our coming to Bir was that when Dhondee told us a new Raj was going to come into power, we expressed how this could take place when the Sirkar had such a number of Police and others in its employ. Dhondee said, "All right, come to Bir and see for yourselves. So we came." (Note:—This witness corroborates No. 15 in every way and adds that he met Gunpatrao of Mag at Kaka's, the day after they arrived at Bir as above described, and that Gunpatrao Patel told Dhondee in his presence that the Kaka and Rajah had ordered them to commit a dacoity at Sirsi in British

Territory, and that on receiving this order, Dhondee, Gunpatrao and all those who came from Deogaum started for Sirsi from Bir, and that they met the Mag gang about ten miles from that place &c. &c.)

Q. Did you hear the Kaka and Rajah tell Gunpatrao Patel to commit the Sirsi dacoity?

A. Yes. These orders were often repeated.

(23)

Statement of Byramjee Eduljee, Overseer, Local Fund, Bir

“ About the commencement of the Bir Disturbances, my brother Rustomjee, Ameen, Customs Department, Papta Yermalla, district Nuldroog, sent me two old rifles to sell. I tried to sell them but did not succeed. About a day or two after the rifles arrived, one Dattia Vaman Vakeel came to me and asked me about the rifles and took them away, keeping them two or three days with him, after which he returned them saying they were too expensive. Vakeel Keshav Rao and Balvantrao came to my house enquiring after the rifles. I was too busy and so could not show them to him. The day the rifles were seized Kesavarao again came and my father showed them to him, but the price did not suit the Vakeels. So they went away.” (Note:—There is little doubt that these Vakeels wanted to get a hold of these weapons to arm their friends, the dacoits, the so called soldiers of the intriguing Baba.)

(24)

*Statement of Bapoorao Narsimva of Papen,
District Nuldroog*

“ I met one Rungrao, a Brahmin, who is employed in the Customs Department at Hyderabad. He told me that a person named Raosaheb had arrived at Aurangabad, and asked me if I would come with him to visit that person. I said all right. We, I mean myself and Rungrao and Kishenrao, who is a clerk in the Court of Wards at Hyderabad,—all came to Kullum. Kishenrao went to village Kowta and myself and Rungrao, with Dajee the Tamba Deshpandia, came to Aurangabad. We went to one Govindrao Potedar's house, (he is a Government servant). We also met Bow Punchee, Peshkar of the Bir Tahsil and

from there went to the place where the Rajah (Raosaheb) was putting up. There were three Carnatic Brahmins with him, who went by the names of Anna, Appa and Govindrao. (These names must be false). On seeing us the Raosaheb asked Rungrao, the Customs clerk, what arrangements had been made. After some talk it was arranged that Dajee should get together 2,000 armed men, and the Raosaheb was to give Rs. 10,000 to Dajee. The Raosaheb could not pay the 10,000. So we came on to Bir, bringing a letter from the Baba to Kaka, for twenty guns and twenty swords. On arriving at Bir the Kaka only gave us three guns and one blunderbuss. We went to Deogaum, met Dhondee, and after some talk with him we went to Tamba. On our way we met Shajee, Dhondee's brother.

After some knocking about, I went to my village Pooplee, where I met one Venkatrao, who was an agent of the Baba. He accompanied me and we came again to Kullum and from there we went to Tamba, and then to Deogaum, met Shajee and Dhondee, and then came on to Bir and saw the Kaka. He said the Baba was at Aurangabad. So I went to Aurangabad, where I met the Baba. Venkatrao accompanied me. I had a talk with the Baba. He asked me if Dajee had got together men. I said yes as I wanted to get money out of the Baba.

After some more talk, I came along to Bir. Venkatrao remained with the Baba at Aurangabad. Just as I was starting from Aurangabad, the Baba gave me three boxes of gun-caps, which he directed to be given to Dhondee. On arriving at Bir, I went to see the Kaka and told him the Baba was coming to Bir very soon. I then went to Deogaum with Shajee, whom I met at Kaka's and I handed the three boxes of caps to Dhondee at Deogaum, from where I went to Tamba and then to my village." (Note:—I have taken the above just to make up the file of the record of the evidence against the Brahmins. This man's full statement I have sent on to the Inspector-General of Police.)

(25)

Statement of Ameer Khan, son of Hussain Khan

"I was employed by Siwrao Kaka at his Karkhana, and used to assist Ramchunder and Marutee blacksmith, who used to work at the Karkhana. About the last Divalee, I

was put in charge of a camel, which belonged to a company in which Kaka was a partner. I remember one day about the Hulda season of the year I was given a letter by Gungadhar Vakeel to be taken to Purlee to be given to Kaka, who had gone there. I took the letter to Purlee, when I found the Kaka was not there. So I took it on to Amba, where I found the Kaka. He was putting up at a Brahmin's house near a temple near the Killah. After taking the letter, the Kaka said, "Go, I will come to Bir soon." I know of a Baba who was putting up at Kaka's. He used to often leave Bir and return again. I took to Aurangabad this Baba's leather bag and some oranges, which he the (Baba) gave me while he was putting up at the Kaka's. I gave these things to the Baba's people who were putting up in a house near the Suparee Hanuman. The Baba gave me a letter, which I showed to the people and they directed me to the house. After I had given the packet to the Baba's people, I went to a smith's house in the Chowree and gave him a letter the Kaka had given me, and this smith gave me 25 spear bamboos. I brought them to Kaka's house and they were taken into the house.

Dhondee, Chudia Dhair and another Mahdeo, who was with Dhondee, used to come to the Kaka's. The Dhair used to be put up in Kaka's Karkhana, and Dhondee and other Hindoos used to go into Kaka's house. I saw Shajee, Dhondee's brother, at the Kaka's once or twice."

(26)

Statement of Narayan, son of Bapoo Goldsmith of Bir

"Kaka told me he had some work for me. This was about the Hulda time of the season last year. I went to his house. He took me up to his Madee. There I was introduced to a Baba, who was fair and had a beard. He drew a figure on a piece of paper, which represented a lynx and a bird. The bird was on the lynx's head. I was asked to make a "Sacha" (mould). I got some "Kasa" (white metal) and made a plate. The Baba said he wanted a thicker plate. So I made a thicker plate. On this the Baba drew the figure of a lynx and a bird, and I began to engrave on the plate. The Baba was not satisfied with the way I worked, so he began to engrave himself, as he had engraving instruments."

Statement of Gunpatrao, son of Pateel Barwa of Mag

"I am police and Mulkee Patel (Goomasta) of Burengaum, District Bir. About the Hulda time last year, Gopalsing, Kaka's servant, came to Mag. He said the Kaka and the Baba had sent for Bapoorao. So I, Bapoorao and Jayram Gosai of Mag with Gopalsing came to Bir, and went to Kaka's house. We went up to the Madee, where Kaka, Pundarinath Vakeel, Govindrao, Bapoo Kased, Vithalrao, Keshavrao Vakeel were all assembled. The Baba said the Hindoo Raj will soon come into power—in one year or six months. All the Vakeels and those I have named above corroborated this. The Baba said, "Cause a *Bund* (rebellion)." We said we could not do this. The Vakeels then made oath that if we got into trouble, they would get us out of the business. After this we returned to our village Mag.

About a month after this, Gopalsing came again to Mag and said Vithalrao, Keshavrao and Sreerao Kaka wanted Bapoorao again at Bir. So myself, Bapoorao, Jayram Gosai and Dhuria Dhair came to Bhir and went to Kaka's house. A meeting of Vakeels took place and the Baba said, "Go ahead and commit dacoity." We went back to Mag. Next day, Kaka, Baba and Gopalsing came to Mag and had their food, which was cooked by a Bhat named Bhawdeo. After having their food, they went to Bapoorao's sugar-cane field, where a mill was at work. All had some juice, and Mogiya Mang was met by the Baba, who said, "This is the time to go in for dacoity." Mogiya said all right. After some more talk, the Baba, Kaka and myself started for Purlee, which is 36 miles from Mag. When we reached Purlee, we put up at Nana Saheb Despandia's house. We remained there for one day. The Baba asked Nana Saheb to collect men. He said all right and after some further talk we left Purlee and reached Amba which is 18 miles from Purlee. Here we put up at one Sadasivrao Vakeel's, who is, I believe, Vithalrao's brother.

Next day 7 or 8 Troopers of the Amba Risalla came to meet the Baba. They came in the evening on foot. From the way the Baba received them it was evident that they were friends of the Baba. They and the Baba went to a side-room. They all began to enquire after the Baba's

health and, after about 2 hours' talk, they left. I can recognise one out of the 7 men who came with the Risalla men. His name is Heerasing. I found this out as the Baba called him Heerasing Jemadar. He is tall and well made and has a twisted beard. I think some of the hair in his beard was grey. He was about 35 or 40, had a Putka on and had boots on. Sadashiv Rao Vakeel of Amba went and brought these Risalla people to the Baba, and he will be able to name and point them out.

Next day, Kaka, Baba, and Sadashivrao Vakeel went on foot towards the Risalla. The Baba bought a saddle from the Risalla, which Kaka said the Baba had paid Rs. 80 for. The Baba used to go to the Risalla very often and once went to buy the Commanding Officer's horse but did not purchase the animal. The Vakeel Sadashivrao used to bring these Risalla people to the Baba's every evening. The general conversation used to be that the Risalla people were to be paid a certain amount of money on the understanding that they were not to act against the Baba's forces. At one of these meetings, the Baba gave Heerasing Jemadar H.S. Rs. 1,500, and two handfuls of Gold Mohurs. I should say there were over 150 Gold Mohurs. After this paper and pen were called for and something was written in Urdu. I do not know what was written but I heard Heerasing say, "I want more money." Upon this the Baba said, "All right. You will get 5,000 more." I think the paper which was written out was an agreement about the payment of the Rs. 5,000 to Heerasing.

Brahmins used to assemble at the place. The Baba was and the Shastras used to be consulted.

I remember a camelman coming to Amba with a letter for the Kaka from Bir. No reply was given to this letter by the Kaka, who said "You go, I am coming." The camelman told me that my father had sent me word to return. So I told the Baba, "I am going to my village." He said all right. So I came back to Mag on Vithalrao's pony. It is a bay animal. Next day Dhuria Dhair brought Vithalrao's pony to Bir. After remaining at Mag for some days, I joined Dhondee's gang and committed the Kara Oopla and Magchawdee dacoities. I have now the following property with me, which I have buried in the jungles of Mag:—

1. Gold Bore Mal, 2 Silver Dundolees and 1 Silver Suree,

This property was given me by Mogia Mang. I absconded after the troops attacked the dacoits, with whom I was the day they were attacked." (Note:—The Sadashiv-rao Vakeel of Amba referred to by this witness is brother of Vithalrao Karkoon of Bir, so often referred to in these statements).

Q. Why did you tell others that the Risalla people were paid Rs. 11,000?

A. I told them that Rs. 1,500 was paid with two handfuls of Gold Mohurs and that Rs. 10,000 was promised them by the Kaka and the Baba.

Mr. A. C. Hankin reported that Baba seems to have attracted the sympathy of the Brahmin population consisting of officials and non-officials to his cause and urged strong action to be taken against them, and the posting of punitive police in Bhir. The following correspondence bears on this subject:—

(1)

"No. L/1.

Dated 5th July, 1899.

To

The Secretary to Government,
Police & Judicial & General Department,
Hyderabad-Dn.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of a report received from Mr. Stephenson which is very full and interesting and leaves little for me to add. I am doing all in my power to try and trace the Baba, and when we get him I hope the whole truth will come out. Meanwhile, Mr. Stephenson and Khyrath Hussain are picking up all the threads and arresting those who gave assistance and joined the Baba.

It is chiefly with the latter part of the report that I have to deal with, and I trust that Government will give my remarks that attention which it deserves. Two and a half years ago I issued a circular that more Hindus should be enlisted in the police than there were now. My object was misunderstood, and a hue and cry was raised that I was against the Mahomedans. Perhaps now it will be seen that what I did or rather wanted to do was in the interest of the

Mahomedan State that I am serving. This particular case shows how completely right I was in my surmise *viz.* that with a Hindu population a wholly Mahomedan force is utterly out of touch and quite unable to cope with intrigues. Here, the Brahmins were intriguing under the very nose of the District authorities who from the Talukdar downwards were ignorant of what was going on; is it not natural that it should be so? Could this state of things have existed had we even a sprinkling of Hindus amongst the officers? I have noticed throughout my tour what a wide gulf there is between the two, and it behoves Government to reconsider my suggestion in the interest of the State. Enough on that point.

My belief is that at this present moment there are many Babas or so called Rajahs on the warpath going about in Native States seeing what damage they can do by stirring up ill feeling; they may have no other object in view than loot and plunder for themselves, but that they can find fools to believe that the Government power can easily be overthrown is fully borne out by the Bhil rising last year and the Bir affair this year. In both instances, the village people seemed quite ready to believe that the Government power was in the wane.

With reference to the remarks about the police behaviour all I can say is that if the head of the district was too timid to act we cannot expect much from the subordinates. Personally, had I been the Mohtamim I would have risked dismissal rather than bide by the funky policy of the District Magistrate. Anything more weak and childlike than sending Vakeels to treat with dacoits and give them purwanas I have seldom heard of; but it is characteristic of the Bir policy throughout. I consider that Muhomed Azam showed a great want of pluck in not protesting against action; but as he was a new man, only officiating, and not much in favour, he probably thought that discretion was the better part of valour, and meekly bowed to his superior officers' advice. No one can deny the fact that the greatest credit is due to the Mohtamim for locating this gang; for it was his first enquiry in the two first dacoities that revealed the fact of who these dacoits were and his reports to the Talukdar were full and clear, still I cannot forgive him for his weak action.

Another reason for the police being so unfit to cope with a big business like this is that the majority of men are locally

enlisted and it is to their interest to keep in hand and glove with the people of all kinds. If transferred to other Districts they refuse to go point blank and resign; where else does this state of things exist? Carrying out orders is not understood here; each and every man must do what he likes best and what suits him best.

Para 42 of Mr. Stephenson's report has my attention.

I think it was a great pity that the Talukdar's and Mr. Ahmed Khan's request for calling out the Contingent was complied with reference to me. It cast an unnecessary slur on the police; however, as far as the dacoits were concerned it was well for them, for had the police and Rohillas got at them I fancy the number killed would have been doubled.

I agree with all that Mr. Stephenson says in para 44 of his report. Of course it rests with Government to comply or otherwise; but it is perfectly clear that the majority of Brahmin officials were in sympathy with the movement. Why did none of these officials warn the authorities? If Government are unable to transfer the lot, some punishment, such as 6 months' pay should be stopped, and the reason pointed in the Jareeda, so that their disloyalty to Government may be made public.

In conclusion I beg that Government will listen to me in this case and place punitive police at Bir at once, two complete chowkis for two years. It is a right and just punishment for the people of the Headquarters of the District, who can be so disloyal as to allow a thing of this kind to go on, and not warn the authorities. The Government of Bombay put punitive police in Poona, the Madras Government have put punitive police in Tinnevely and it behoves our Government to uphold its prestige and insist on its subjects being loyal. Had the Bir business not been nipped in the bud there is no knowing how far it might not have spread; in fact, Aurangabad and Parbhani did attempt to follow suit. The Punitive Police will tough the Vakeels, many of whom were in sympathy with this movement. No time should be lost.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) A. C. Hankin,
I.G.P."

(2)

SEAL OF
HYDERABAD GOVERNMENT

"Very Confidential."

Office of the Inspector-General of Police,
Hyderabad-Deccan,
18th June, '99.

My dear Aziz Mirza,

Mr. Stephenson writes from Bir that the Brahmin element is more mixed up in that business than he at first suspected and suggests a general scattering of the Brahmin official in Aurangabad and Bir, and in that opinion I think Government should agree; but it should be most confidentially through Mr. Dunlop so as not to rouse suspicion. This matter should be kept most confidential.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) A. C. Hankin."

(3)

"Replied that the papers were laid before His Excellency the Minister and also shown to Mr. Dunlop. But before taking any steps about the transfer of the Brahmin officials from the Districts of Aurangabad and Bir, the Government would like to have a list of officials suspected to have been involved in the Bir affair. His letter to the address of the First Assistant No. W Confidential dated 22nd June, 1899, was also returned.

(Sd.) Md. Aziz Mirza,
27-6-'99."

(4)

"Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. U/1, dated 9th Inst., I have the honour to forward herewith copy of Mr. Stephenson's D.O. No. 41, dated 4th Inst. together with copies of its enclosures, viz., 21 statements, and to request that early orders may be passed regarding the Brahmins suspected of intriguing with the Baba.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) A. C. Hankin,
I.G.P."

Bir,
4th July, '99.

" No. 41.

Dear Mr. Hankin,

I have in my No. 39A of yesterday's date disposed of the case of the official Brahmins of Bir.

I will now touch on the conduct of the non-official Brahmins.

2. I attach 21 statements I have taken which speak for themselves and show how matters stand.

3. A reference to appendix (a) attached to this report will show you the particular parts of the statements which bear on the case.

4. It may be argued that nearly all the persons who have given their evidence in the attached statements are accused in the custody of the Police, but I submit that in cases like this the evidence of co-conciliators is the only evidence procurable, as it is a well known fact that Brahmins seldom if ever preach against each other.

5. You are already in possession of the fact of the Baba remaining at Bir for a long time and his holding meetings, getting together armed men and arms and ammunition, and there is abundance of evidence that his intentions were (however so suicidal) of a highly criminal type and that this Baba and his chief agent, the Kaka, were the sole cause of all the recent crime and general unrest in this District.

6. All these intrigues were hatched and brought into existence in Kaka's house which was frequented by every Brahmin in Bir, both official and non-official, and much criminal correspondence was received and despatched from time to time from this Brahmin's residence. All these facts were well known to these threaded intriguers who more or less assisted each other in spreading the Baba's doctrines throughout the Bir and Aurangabad Districts, and if the truth were known, to many other places in the State.

7. The action of the Bir Brahmins verges on abetment of dacoity and if I could only get together a few missing links in the chain of evidence against them I would not hesitate a moment to put them on their trial, but when I have to contend with the whole Brahminical population of Bir exerting themselves to their utmost to suppress any evidence which may be forthcoming I feel there is not a ray of hope of ever being able to get this evidence together.

8. There is another matter in connection with this case which I would have referred to in this report, but as it is a very serious one and has a military aspect about it I refrain from touching on it, particularly so as you are already aware of what I refer to above.

8. From the facts I have touched on in the above paras of this letter I do not think I am wrong in suggesting:—

1st that a punitive Police force be quartered at Bir for the space of three years consisting of one Jamedar, Dafadar and 12 men, and this force be placed in the Dhondee Purah of the town of Bir where all the Brahmins mostly live, and the cost of maintaining this force to be assessed from the Brahmin inhabitants of Bir, no other castes being made to contribute. There were 322 houses in which Brahmins live in Bir.

2nd that the sannads of all the Brahmin Vakeels of Bir be suspended for 2 years.

3rd that the names of all Brahmins be removed from the local Fund and Municipal Committees of Bir.

9. The above may be considered harsh measures, but when the conduct of these Brahmins is taken into consideration, conduct, I may add, which has caused much misery and led men into crime for which they will have to suffer long terms of imprisonment, men, I may add, who with a very few exceptions were honest cultivators and peaceful ryots, and further that these Brahmin intriguers have been the cause of nearly a lakh of rupees of property having been plundered and several unfortunate misguided persons being killed and severely wounded, being maimed for life, all this being the outcome of the Bir Brahmanical intrigues, I fail to see the severity of the measures I have suggested and have only to add in conclusion that a severe lesson should be taught to these Brahmanical intriguers, whom I may style the end of the evidence against the Brahmins &c. of Bir and other places, who are mixed up with the Baba's intrigues."

No action was taken against the persons about whom the Inspector-General of Police reported, yet a close watch was kept on them for a number of years. Thus ended the insurrection of Baba Saheb. He was heard of at Amravati in Madhya Pradesh in 1902 and no trace of his whereabouts could be found after that date. The insurrection inspired by him in Bhir and Aurangabad was a notable episode in the State of Hyderabad in the closing year of the 19th century.

CHAPTER IX

THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT

In the year 1900 Viqar-ul-Omrah, the Prime Minister was succeeded by Maharaja Sir Kishan Pershad. In the same year Hyderabad was connected on the metre-gauge with Manmad, thus opening the Marathwada districts for communications with the then Bombay Presidency. The decade between 1900-1912 is a formative period in the history of Hyderabad. The public awakening in Telangana started with the opening of Sri Krishna Devaraya Andhra Bhasha Nilayam through the efforts of the Raja of Munagal and Sarvasri K. Laxman Rao, Ravichetoo Ranga Rao, Adipudi Somasekhar Rao and Mailawaram Narasimha Shastry. This library was opened in Sultan Bazaar, Hyderabad, on 1st September, 1901. At about the same time a literary association called Vignyana Chandrika Grantha Mandali was started by these gentlemen for research and publication of useful works.

The first person to realise the importance of establishing close relations between Andhra and Telangana was the late Sri Komaraju Laxman Rao. He established the Vignyana Chandrika Grantha Mandali ten years before the establishment of libraries in Andhra.

He also established a Vignyana Chandrika Parishad and held competition in History, Natural Sciences and Literature. Sri Veereshalingam Pantulu was the President of the Parishad and Vavili Kolanu Subba Rao was the Vice-President. The Parishad awarded medals worth Rs. 116 and Rs. 50.

Hyderabad was also an active centre of examinations. The first private organization which conducted examination in Telugu was the Vignyana Parishad. Sri K. Laxman Rao was the man responsible for this. He was the sponsor of this examination system. These examinations are now being conducted by the Saraswat Parishad.

The Vignyana Chandrika Mandali also held competitions in novel writing. "Raichoor Yuddhamu", "Vijayanagar

Samrajyamu" and "Patala Bhairavi" were written as a result of these competitions.

Sri K. Laxman Rao was also the man who pointed out the necessity of writing an encyclopaedia in Telugu (Andhra Vignyana Sarvasva Rachana). He prepared the first Volume of the "Vignyana Sarvasvamu" in his life time. Sri Laxman Rao had two aims: (1) Research in History, and (2) "Vignyana Vangmaya Nirmanamu" that is to say the creation of scientific literature.

On account of this movement Sri Laxman Rao established a permanent close relationship between Andhra and Telangana and tried to spread enlightenment in Telugu in both the regions.

This was followed by the establishment of an other library at Warangal, viz., "Sri Raj Raj Narendra Andhra Bhasha Nilayam" on 29th January, 1904. The Andhra Samvardhani Library was opened on 30th September, 1905 at Secunderabad. Krishna Devaraya Andhra Bhasha Nilayam Library in Hyderabad soon became one of the most prominent institutions in the State and developed as a school of renaissance in Telangana. A similar role was played by the Warangal Library also. A beginning with Telugu schools was made in 1904, when Sri Ranga Rao Kaloji opened a school in Chaderghat in memory of Radha Bai Kaloji on 18th November, 1904. It was a modest beginning where girls were given education in Marathi and Telugu. The Marathi residents of Hyderabad had decided in the year 1884 to start a Marathi school in memory of Lord Ripon, but the scheme does not appear to have been successful.

In the year 1896 Sri Keshav Rao Koratkar who was practising in the courts of Gulberga came to Hyderabad and started his practice in this City. Keshav Rao Koratkar was one of the great leaders produced by Hyderabad about this time. Born in the year 1867 at Purjal in the Basmat Taluq of the Parbhani district, he had his early education privately at Gulberga. He served for some time in the local revenue office, but soon left the service and having succeeded in the pleaders' examination started practising in the courts of Gulberga. While at Gulberga Sri Keshav Rao came under the influence of the strong awakening in the educational, social and political fields coming over Maharashtra at that

period. He used to visit Poona frequently and attend functions like the Vasant Vyakhyana Mala and have contacts with the leading personalities of Maharashtra. It was thus that Sri Keshav Rao got an urge to develop similar institutions in Hyderabad. When he came to Hyderabad in 1896 he found that there was a great field for public activities in the city.

The Marathi speaking public of Hyderabad felt the pressing need of having a Marathi Primary School where the education of their children would be carried on in the Marathi language and to give effect to this pressing need Sri Dingre and Sri Karmarkar started a private Marathi Primary School in the Hyderabad Residency Bazar in the year 1901. They continued this school as their own enterprise for about five years when they found that they could not meet the requirements of the school for want of funds; and they therefore in the year 1906 requested Sarvasri Dattopant Pisolkar, Vishnupant Akkalkotkar, Ganpat Bhim Rao, Afzulpurkar and Narsopant Boramanikar to take the school in their charge as they also were coaching students for the Middle School Examination in their leisure hours freely for the benefit of students.

As these gentlemen were keenly interested in the educational welfare of the younger generation they at once realised that their much-coveted object of giving sound education through the mother tongue of the pupils would thereby be better attained, eagerly accepted the offer and took the Primary School under their immediate charge. They then added to it the four intermediary classes to make it a complete Anglo-Vernacular Middle School and named it "The Viveka Vardhini Pathashala.

Having appreciated the utility of such an institution the Marathi speaking public of Hyderabad and Secunderabad held a meeting on the 25th day of October, 1907 at the residence of the late Mr. Bhimraoji Afzulpurkar, the Treasurer of the Bank of Bengal, and resolved to give a constitutional form to the Pathashala and the first Managing Committee was formed consisting of the following members :—

- (1) Pandit Kesharao, Vakil, President.
- (2) Mr. Vaman Ramchandra Naik, Jagirdar,
Secretary.
- (8) Mr. Ganpatrao Hardikar, Assistant Secretary.

- (4) Mr. Pandurang Vasudeo Joshi, B.A., LL.B.
- (5) Dr. G. K. Kirloskar, L.M. & S.
- (6) Mr. S. M. Datar, B.A., A.C.E.
- (7) Mr. M. D. Gadgil, B.A., L.C.E.
- (8) Mr. L. B. Phatak.
- (9) Mr. Narsopant Boramanikar.
- (10) Mr. Raghunathrao Hacholikar.
- (11) Mr. S. G. Kulkarni (Head Master).

Work was carried on by this school entirely on a voluntary basis.....The School was opened in a small rented house with only a couple of rooms in the Residency Bazar. When the Primary School was amalgamated with the Middle School classes as the Viveka Vardhini Pathashala, the accommodation was found insufficient and therefore it was shifted to a rented house, viz., to Ganesh Bagh, in Gowliguda. Misfortune, however, over-took the school inasmuch as in September 1908 the disastrous floods of Hyderabad washed away some of the class-rooms and also the furniture and small library therein. The Government came to their help and granted a sum of Rs. 150 for the purchase of some necessary furniture and books and the Managing Committee cannot but express their heartfelt gratitude to the Government for this generous grant in those times, in addition to the help given to the students in the shape of books, etc. As the number of students in the Pathashala increased, additional rooms were rented every year and when in the year 1918 the strength had reached the figure of 524 students, the Managing Committee were compelled to take on rent an adjoining hall then known as the Deccan Theatre temporarily for accommodating this influx.

The Managing Committee were thus faced with the serious problem of having a suitable school building of their own but finding no immediate solution the Committee advanced a decent amount to the landlord of Ganesh Bagh for constructing at least three suitable class-rooms for the school. These rooms were accordingly constructed but the Managing Committee could not rest satisfied with this state of affairs. The Pathashala had to pay a heavy amount each month by way of rent, the class rooms were neither airy nor quite sanitary nor well ventilated. Furthermore, the location of the classes in three different buildings made it very

inconvenient as well as difficult to supervise the classes efficiently and to maintain discipline. The Pathashala Committee therefore approached the Government in the Educational Department for a decent grant only to be told in reply that the Government would according to the rules be pleased to grant a sum equal to what the Committee would raise. Thanks to the generosity of Mr. Vaman Naik, the then Secretary of the Pathashala, who came forward with a princely donation of Rs. 35,000 with which he purchased a large plot of land in the same locality and thus laid the institution under everlasting gratitude. Mr. Vaman Naik, whose philanthropy knows no bounds and who has always the interest of his countrymen at heart and who is ever ready to translate his ideas into actions found that this plot of land would not be sufficient for all the purposes of the Pathashala, a growing school, therefore made a further purchase of adjoining land costing about Rs. 60,000 and thus removed once for all the difficulty of a convenient site for the school building with a small playground attached."¹

Today the Vivek Vardhini Education Society has developed a number of institutions like the Boy's High School, the Girls' High School and the College. It has proved as a great centre of revival of learning and public spirit among the Maharashtrians of the State. In the same year, viz., in 1907, Sri Vithal Rao Deulgaonkar, a colleague of Sri Keshav Rao Koratkar and pleader at Gulbarga, started the "Nutan Vidyalaya High School." That institution too has developed into a leading one in the Karnatak area of the State. It would be sufficient to say that a number of prominent people and public workers who played an important part in the political and social and educational life of the State during the period 1920-1948 have been associated either as students, teachers or supporters of these two important institutions.

In January 1902 Sri Ramchander Pillay died. He was one of the earliest of the Congress workers in the State. For more than 25 years Sri Ramchander Pillay served the public cause in various capacities. He was associated with the educational and social activities in Secunderabad and was a staunch supporter of the Congress since its inception.

In the year 1902 Lord Curzon arrived in Hyderabad and the agreement assigning Berar on lease in perpetuity

1. V. V. Educational Society, Hyderabad-Dn. Silver Jubilee Report 1907-88 pp. 5-6.

was signed on 5th November 1902. The manner and method of the agreement shocked public opinion in Hyderabad and created a great feeling of resentment against the Government of India. All these factors tended to sharpen public opinion against the British. When the Swadeshi Movement in the then British India started, it was enthusiastically welcomed in Hyderabad. Meetings were held in a number of places in 1906-1907 where Swadeshi was preached and the boycott of foreign goods was urged. The preaching of Swadeshi was carried on through the institutions like the Arya Samaj, the Ganesh Utsav and various societies. The arrest, trial and the subsequent deportation of Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak in 1908 gave a great fillip to the movement for Swadeshi. Official reports of those days are full of measures taken to check these movements which embraced all communities in the State. The newspapers in Hyderabad became bold and critical and guided and expressed public opinion in this cause. The great Sanskrit Pandit Sripad Damodar Satvalekar, who spent 8 years in Hyderabad from 1901-1908, has sent his reminiscences of that period, extracts from which are given below:—

“ After a few days of my visit to Hyderabad, and stay there, I joined Arya Samaj. The President of Arya Samaj was the late Keshavraoji Vakil. Because of Arya Samaj, I became his friend. My lectures used to take place in Arya Samaj and other places on religion. Lectures could be delivered on every aspect of political, social and individual development, with the help and on the basis of Vedic religion. Therefore even if the lecture was on religion it could easily have influence in the political field also. The popularity of my lectures went on increasing.

Afterwards, my letters in the Nizam's Dominions used to take place in such meetings on different subjects. In the small villages of the Dominions also my lectures used to take place.

The Nizam's Dominions is divided in Marathi, Telugu and Kanarese language regions. The people's language, Hindi was known to everyone. Therefore my work continued everywhere because of Hindi and I could not meet with any inconvenience in any village.

In order to have more contact with the people, I started in Sultan Bazar, in Hyderabad, in 1901, a Marathi Library

by acquiring a place. First it was in a small room, but after six months it assumed the aspect of a good public library. The library was situated where there is the building of Arya Samaj towards Urali. It is likely that even now it is there.

In order to give public lectures we established an elocution institution. In the first year at someone's home, and there only, about 100 to 150 people used to gather. Afterwards the lectures used to take place in this library. But there was no place in the library, therefore, not even 40 or 50 persons could sit. Even then, on every Sunday the lectures used to take place there only. If there was no place in the library, outside the door of the library on the road, we used to organize lectures. Therefore, people used to gather and the police of the Residency also started attending the lectures.

The Chief of the Residency Police was a Muslim, and he was full of Hindu hatred. Ever since he started attending the lectures, he wrote the reports of the lectures, therefore, their importance started increasing.

In those days, the Swadeshi Movement was in full swing. The late Mahatma Tilak conducted it, with great enthusiasm. Swadeshi and Boycott, these two things therefore came to us because of the Movement, and we also started giving lectures on these subjects.

The reports of these lectures started reaching the Resident regularly and, therefore, my name was written on the blacklist.

We had also established a gymnasium. It was situated in a lane of Chaderghat. To increase the physical strength of the students was the aim. The gymnastic teachers were there from the beginning, and in the morning they used to teach wrestling, etc., to the students. We encouraged and strengthened it, and started celebrating the celebrations of the brave individuals. Every month a celebration used to take place and the lectures also used to take place there.

The Police could not attend the lectures because in a great degree they were not public, and they used to take place at the wrestling place established by us. The main object of these were to make the youth the revolutionaries.

Therefore these lectures used to take place generally secretly, but with the arrangement that all our people should attend them.

We used to request our people individually to attend the lectures and they used to number very often two to three hundreds.

We tried to increase the influence of Swadeshi. Generally a hundred or two hundred youths who came in our contact started observing the Swadeshi penance. An incident of these days is memorable.

In Chaderghat there was Huzur Ramchandra Rao, who was a gentleman reading newspapers to the Nizam. He always stayed with the Ruler. Therefore the coat and cap of his son were of the value of rupees two thousand. He used to get valuable goods, whatever he wanted, without any cost from the shops of the Europeans and the others. Therefore the coat of his son was worth Rs. 1,500 and the embroidered cap was worth Rs. two to three hundred. When the principle of the Swadeshi entered in the child of eight years, and when he swore to observe the Swadeshi penance, he cast off his clothes valued in thousands, and considered it to be his duty to wear a cap of annas four and a shirt of rupee one and a half, and he did so. And at home, he told his parents that he would not wear foreign clothes.

The house did not have this atmosphere, therefore we were criticized much. But we all remained firm on the principle of Swadeshi. In the same way, the principle of Swadeshi was completely imbibed by 100 boys who attended the gymnastics. Therefore, the penance reached so many houses. Because the children were made to adopt the principle, propagation of Swadeshi took place in homes, the foreign cloth was not being tolerated by them even in the bed in the night. Therefore every home began to observe Swadeshi.

It was impossible to call the principle of Swadeshi bad. Therefore in the homes of the big officials the principle reached of its own accord. The Swadeshi shops started and public meetings to observe Swadeshi began to take place.

In those days in 1903 I was introduced to Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya. He was the father of the late Sarojini Naidu. He was an extreme radical. In his presidentship I

began to speak on Swadeshi. The late Keshavrao Vakil used to make arrangement for the place, etc., of the lectures, Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya used to be President and I used to speak. Sometimes Sri Datto Appaji Tuljapurkar used to attend, and sometimes Sri Wamanrao Naik used to remain with us. He had a great influence in the Nizam's Dominions, and it proved to be of great use to us.

In this way, a stormy rush of meetings started. It had only bad results. The Resident did not like the propagation of the Swadeshi. He told about it to the Nizam often and often, and compelled him to expel all of us from the Dominions, therefore, the popularity of Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya, Sri Keshavrao Vakil, Sri Tuljapurkar Vakil and myself began to increase.

The Nizam did not want it. He was helpless. He sent Huzur Ramrao to me. This was in 1907. In the night, he approached me, and said, "Stop lectures, start the profession of painting, earn wealth, do not give speeches, such is the Nizam's message." I said in answer, "We have started the movement of Swadeshi because the subjects of the Nizam should be profited. The industries of the Dominions would develop and increase. The subjects of the Nizam would be profited. Therefore, we would be doing this movement. Whatever the Government thinks good and just, let it do it."

My answer had the effect as it should have. Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya, Sri Keshavrao Vakil, Sri Dattopant Tuljapurkar Vakil and myself, all four of us, were ordered to be sent out of Hyderabad Dominions. Our friends were employed in the Nizam's Office. They told us that very soon we would be sent out. We all knew this.

We all four held talk among ourselves, and, having known that the three were in difficulty because of me, and, if I would leave, all these three would live in the Dominions, I decided to leave Hyderabad, and, I left for Gurkul Haridwar and started living there as a teacher of painting. In the same way, Shri Datto Appaji Tuljapurkar Vakil left for Bombay and started practising law there.

Both of us left the Dominions. Therefore, the Nizam's Government did not serve the order of expulsion on the rest and they lived peacefully in Hyderabad. The meetings were also closed and the Swadeshi Movement was also stopped.

Our gymnasium continued. There revolutionary youths were coming ahead. In Nasik, Collector Jackson was fired at. It happened, because a youth left Hyderabad and went to Nasik. He inspired 50 to 60 youths with Revolutionary thoughts and one of them fired that bullet. The youth, who left Hyderabad, was known to me. I do not want to write his name here, consciously. He is now near Poona and is doing his work.

In this way, Hyderabad was connected with the revolutionaries of Nasik.

Those coming to the Dominions from outside, after doing revolutionary acts, were protected by us quickly by keeping them in small villages. There, it was not necessary for them to live incognito. In the hilly villages they used to live very happily and they could live there as many years as they wanted.

In the small villages of the Nizam's Dominions, such people could live easily.

The Nizam's Dominions was the motherland of the revolutionaries. Weapons used to come from Germany, Italy, etc. They were brought with intelligence. In wooden frames and in such things, weapons such as pistols, small guns, bullets, etc., could be surreptitiously received. In the Dominions also, as many weapons as could be wished, could be had. There were also agents to bring such weapons and they used to bring them and give them. There was no secrecy in it at all. From what place, through what, what was coming, was known to us and that thing used to reach its destination without fail.

In Bengal, books about manufacture of bombs were published and they used to reach us through individuals. Picric acid and its chemicals used to reach us in the same way and these experiments were carried there.

Therefore, Bengali youths had contact with us. There were many institutions like Navayug Samiti, etc., and their members used to come to Hyderabad with different names. What was the real name of those was difficult to know. A youth had approached us once. His name in Hyderabad was M. Suniti Kumar. He met me in Haridwar, when I

was living in Haridwar. At that time, he told me a different name. It was he who supplied formulae of bombs and their materials.

The Bengali youths used to do much work in this revolutionary work and they were expert in changing their names and keeping things secret. A Bengali had come to me in 1905. He had a rug on him, wore a shirt and in that shirt had a bag on the shoulder hanging. He was keeping the bag always with him. What it contained was not known. In my stay in Hyderabad about 30 to 40 such Bengali youths must have come.

What were their real names, etc. none could know.

In Hyderabad, in gymnasium, we used to teach wrestling and different exercises as Jor, Dand and Baithak but many were receiving teaching in bow and arrow, patta, single fencing, spear, small dagger, pistol and gun, etc. Education in Japanese wrestling (*Jiu Jitsu*) was also being imparted. All this was taking place secretly. Whatever that should take place in gymnasium used to take place openly but teaching the use of the above weapons was done secretly.

Children of six years or eight years also used to approach us but these children were also expert in keeping secrets. Not a child had revealed a secret at any time.

The Vivek Vardhini School.

Our ideal was to increase contact with the youths. In the gymnasium we could have contact only with hundred or two hundred youths. Besides this, it was felt necessary to give education of our views, therefore, we felt it necessary to start the Vivek Vardhini School.

I remember that it was started in 1904. The correct year could be had in that school. The declared objectives of the school, written by my hand, would be had from the office of the school even today. He who wants to see them can do so.

In order to come in contact with more of the youths was the objective. This institution has increased its field of work much today and it has been transformed into a College.

The helpers of the institution were Sri Waman Naik, Sri Keshav Rao Vakil, Sri Madhava Rao and Sri Wamanrao Godgil, etc., and many others. With the co-operation of all these personalities, the task could be done. Therefore the work does not belong to me singly.

THE CONGRESS.

Sri Wamanrao Naik, Sri Keshavrao Vakil, each of them, attended the Congress. Out of them, Sri Wamanrao Naik was the follower of Lokamanya Tilak and Sri Keshavrao Vakil was the follower of the Hon'ble Gokhale. Until I was in Hyderabad, I attended the Congress. I was the follower of Lokamanya Tilak.

The Surat Congress proved to be specially provocative. In this Congress, Sri Arvind Ghosh and Lokamanya Tilak lead one group and the Hon'ble Gokhale lead a different group. The Tilak group had gone to Surat about 15 days earlier, and had carried on preparation and had prepared an organization of their own. The organization of the Hon'ble Gokhale's group was there from the beginning. The Lokamanya Tilak group had taken a big spacious house, and the followers of Lokamanya Tilak used to have their meetings in it. Their meetings were attended by 4 to 5 thousand persons and they were prepared in all ways.

Sri Wamanrao Naik had attended with his cook, and family members, and myself and Sri Keshavrao were putting up with him.

Hyderabad was included in Madras, therefore, we had received the honour and privilege of sitting in the front rank, which was near the place of the President. Lokamanya Tilak also was sitting in our rank, because he could easily go from there to the stage above.

The resolution of the President came before the meeting and immediately Lokamanya Tilak climbed the platform and started opposing. He must have spoken two or four sentences. Immediately on all sides, members of both the groups started raising thundering slogans of lions. The members of the Hon'ble Gokhale group had gundas with lathies. They started beating and there was chaos everywhere. The meeting broke up. The next day a meeting of convention took place. Sri Keshavarao only could attend it. We were debarred from it.

The seeds of revolution had entered into the Congress at that time, that much I remembered."

The following extracts from the official reports of those days will give an idea of the Swadeshi Movement which had spread in Hyderabad:—

(1)

"The District Superintendent of Police, Aurangabad, in his report dated 4th August, 1908, marked confidential, said that on receiving the news of the arrest of Tilak, students studying in Matric and pre-Matric classes did not attend the school. They also persuaded the students of lower classes to abstain from classes. The teachers of the school remained in their classes till the evening. The report further stated that a student named Bapat along with a few others was responsible for this. One Gangaram who was studying in Matric came under the influence of Swadeshi Movement, left his studies, proceeded to Bombay and joined the Swadeshi movement. He was arrested in Bombay and sentenced to five days' imprisonment. He had returned to Aurangabad but was not taking any active part in the said affair and the police was keeping an eye on him. Shops were, however, not closed.

Posters in Marathi and Urdu were pasted in public places. Reporting this incident, the D.S.P. in his report, dated 7-8-1908 said that some urchins amongst whom the son of the Inspector of Schools was prominent were responsible for this act. The posters were however removed later by the police. The D.P.I. was asked to investigate the whole affair who in his report said that the teachers were instructed to see that such incidents did not recur, and since the Inspector of Schools had severely punished his son, no further action was thought necessary. The file contains an original poster, the copy of which is appended to this.

In Gulbarga, a procession of the portrait of Tilak was taken out and students abstained from schools. An appeal also was issued for funds. The D.S.P., Bidar, reported that the Hindus had formed a committee about two years back. In the meeting of this committee lectures on Swadeshi movement used to be delivered. They also received *Kesari Madhav Rai* and *Sreenivas Rao* were prominent in the activities of the said committee. On receiving the news of the

arrest of Tilak, a meeting was held on Thursday which was attended by all the prominent Hindus where lectures were delivered expressing sympathy with Tilak.

The D.S.P., Raichur, reported in the 4th week of August 1908 that generally the Hindus expressed their grief over the arrest of Tilak and it was learnt that through the efforts of Kishan Rao Vakil funds were being collected.

The Commissioner of Police, Hyderabad, in his report dated 19th Aban/25th September, 1908 said that in imitation of the celebrated picture of Dattatreya, a picture was printed and was being sold in the market with the faces of Lala Lajpat Rai, Balgangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandrapal. Six sets of these pictures were forwarded to the Secretary, Department of Judiciary, which were eventually passed on to the Residency. The Commissioner further reported that another picture, that of Mamba Devi, was also on sale in which Mamba Devi was shown to be exhorting the people to forget their differences and support her favourite devotee, Tilak, as that was the only way of serving the country.”¹

(2)

“ The following report was sent by the Sub-Inspector of Police, Gangapur Taluq, on 1st August, 1908 to the D.S.P. Aurangabad stating that a Brahmachari had arrived at Kayegaon village where he was said to be preaching religion and reciting religious books. The real fact was that in the name of Katha he was preaching sedition to the people on lines of the Swadeshi movement in British India. The same S.I. made another report on 13th Meher 1317 F. stating that on hearing the news that there would be a Katha on Janmashtami day, he proceeded to Kayegaon. The Jagirdar of the place, one Martand, son of Wasudeo, was in charge of the Jagir. On that particular night, there was a gathering of about 100 persons most of whom were Brahmmins. The proceedings started with the singing of Bhajans. After that he said a few words about religion. Then he delivered a lecture on agriculture. During this lecture, he said:—

“ There is too much of oppression in British territory Your co-religionists are being arrested arbitrarily. They are being sentenced severely. Your country has been, by

1. From File No. 11 (Special Branch) 1317 F./1908, Home Secretariat, Government of Hyderabad.

force, snatched away from you. You are regarded as fools. After getting united, if you threw a handful of dust over them, they will simply vanish. Since the British rule, the agricultural produce has decreased. Cultivators (he had used the word 'Kunbis') are forced to become labourers. The wealth of this country is being drained. The grains produced by you are going out, and you don't even get stale bread. All are forced to live like slaves. Thousands of taxes are levied on you. You must help yourself. You must meet your needs by the articles produced in your own country. You must not spare your life and property to claim your right. Everything is possible through unity.'

On making enquiries, the S.I. discovered that the said Brahmachari arrived from British India where he used to deliver lectures. His real name was Anant, son of Wasudeo Dandeker. He came from village Godge, Taluka Dervoli, District Ratnagiri. His parents were still at the village. Anant Wasudeo came to Poona and stayed there for three years when he used to visit villages delivering speeches. The police arrested him but he was released for want of evidence. From Poona, he proceeded to Sangam in British India that is only about 2 miles from Kayegaon. At Sangam also he delivered two or three lectures and then came to Kayegaon. After staying for a few days, he went back to Poona and again returned to Kayegaon and started giving lectures.

The said S.I. brought pressure upon Martand Wasudeo to send away the Brahmachari who was eventually sent back. He was given a right royal send off.

The S.I. of Jalna submitted a report on 4th August 1908 to the D.S.P., Aurangabad, stating that one Ramchander (Holkar) hailing from Akkalkote arrived at Jalna six days ago and was staying at the Anandswami Temple. He was a guest of Khande Rao Vakil. At the Temple he delivered a Katha. More often than not, he stressed on the importance of Swadeshi affairs. He was of roundish face, had slight marks of small-pox, his head and beard were clean shaven, with only a small bunch of hair at the top of his head, average height, average build, aged 40 years and a Brahmin.

On 5th August, 1908, the same S.I. reported that Ramchander read to a gathering a religious book and drew their attention to the need of using Swadeshi articles. He said that foreign cloth and foreign bangles should not be used.

At the close of his exhortation he told the audience that they should take an oath to follow his advice, else he would be unhappy. That was the last day of his preaching at Jalna. He would proceed to Parbhani the next day. From Parbhani he would proceed to Hyderabad via Nanded, Nizamabad and other places.

On 6th August, 1908, the same S.I. reported that Ramchander had boarded the train for Parbhani. The effect of the speeches of Ramchander was such on the Hindus that the ladies took out and threw away their bangles and decided that they would not thence after use them.

Ramchander seems to have proceeded to Parbhani as per his programme where he stayed for a week and gave Katha and delivered speeches on Swadeshi movement. The police seem to have had no information about his activities till the day of his departure from Parbhani. The D.S.P., Parbhani, addressed the following letter to the S.I. Taluka Parbhani, on 9th Meher, 1317 Fasli:—

‘Yesterday, 8th Meher 1317 F., at 4 p.m., on the platform of the railway station, Parbhani, I got the information that one Rambhau of Akkalkote in the territory of British India visited Parbhani a week ago and was staying in a library and for seven days he read Puran to Hindus and preached. On 7th Meher he exhorted the people not to wear foreign caps and expressed grief over the arrest of Tilak. On his exhortation the audience took out their foreign caps and tore them away. A day prior to this incident, he exhorted the ladies not to wear foreign bangles and the result was that the ladies took out their bangles and threw them away. It appears that a large number of people attended his meetings. Every meeting had an audience of two to four hundred people It is a matter of regret and surprise that all this happened at the head-quarters and the police had no information. What was the patrol constable doing? Where was the Thanedar sleeping? The patrol constable be immediately suspended and explanation taken. The explanations of Thanedar and Dafedar should also be taken and forwarded to me immediately. You on your own responsibility should appoint some reliable man to keep in touch with the library and it should be seen that no meeting is held without permission under the rules, else you will be reprimanded. Information should be immediately collected if he delivered seditious speeches. He is not far

off, he is still within the territory of our government. In case necessary proof is forthcoming, he should be arrested and criminal proceedings be instituted against him.'

Ramchander seems to have proceeded to Nanded. The S.I., Nanded, reported on 25th August 1908 that Ramchander arrived at Nanded on the night of 15th August 1908 A.D. and recited Katha at Narayan Bawa Matt. He was probably contemplating to deliver a speech, but before he could do so he received a telegram from his uncle and he left Nanded on 17th August 1908.

In this connection, the following Firman was issued on 3rd Shaban 1326 Hijri:—

'The opinion given by you, Faredoon Jung and Aziz Mirza in the Marooza of 25th Rajjab 1326 Hijri with regard to the persons who come from outside and propagate feelings antagonistic to the British Government is quite proper that institution of cases against such persons is not generally useful. Instead, with the help of the State Police they should be quietly sent out. In such matters the police can do much with tact. According all the concerned officers be instructed in confidence that with care but with firmness they should quietly take as much action as possible. Unusual excitement shall be avoided as far as possible. Opportunity for ado should not be given in matters that can be prevented quietly.'"¹.

(8)

"On 22nd December 1907, the Political and Private Secretary to the Maharaja Bahadur addressed to the Secretary, Judiciary and Police Department, stating that one Pandurang Sastri and some others arrived in the State for the purpose of collecting funds for a temple in Mysore. A letter from the Residency was placed before the Nizam who ordered that the Police should quietly keep a watch over such persons and if they delivered seditious speeches on Swadeshi and other topics, they must be immediately stopped. A Marooza was placed before the Nizam stating that the Marhata Brahmins were delivering speeches on Swadeshi and other political subjects. The Nizam ordered that the Police should keep watch over such activities and report the matter.

A request was made that such reports be called for and placed before the Secretary, Judicial and Police Dept. Orders were issued to this effect on 26-12-1907.

1. From File No. 11 (Special Branch) 1817 F./1908, Home Secretariat, Government of Hyderabad,

The report from the D.S.P., Parbhani, is dated 26th Isfandar 1317 F., marked confidential. It says that for the last one and half year the national spirit was increasing amongst the Hindus and Brahmins. They were devoted to Swadeshi movement. The fear of police was a deterrent for the spirit to manifest itself overtly; still now and then the spirit showed some action. The Hindus wanted to achieve their purpose by adopting a different course. It was known that the Hindu businessmen were holding secret meetings in Parbhani. They were collecting funds in the name of Goraksha. They seemed to have agreed to pay towards the fund Rs. 0-1-0 per bale of cotton Rs. 0-2-0 per Khandi of grain and Rs. 0-0-9 per Khandi of oilseeds. When the Muslim businessmen refused to have anything to do with it, Hindu businessmen boycotted them. Pressure was also brought on the businessmen of Jalna, Nanded and other places to contribute to the fund. All this activity was caused by the businessmen of Bombay and Poona. The immediate cause for this was Pandurang Sastri who was in Parbhani some months back. A statement of Dhonderaj Vakil was recorded who stated that Pandurang visited Parbhani in Aban 1316 F. He distributed some pamphlets and gave lectures on religion. Some Hindu lawyers held a religious meeting. The Conveners of the meeting were Kalyan Rao, Madhav Rao, Vaman Rao and Dhonderaj. Swadeshi movement was at the back of all this.

The report from Mahboobnagar, date 8th Ardibehast 1317 F. states that some Marhatta Brahmins, Kshatri Brahmins and Hindu businessmen gathered together and praised Pandurang Sastri. They said that he had collected some funds in Sholapur and wanted to collect more funds at Narayanpet."¹

Lists of the people who had sympathies with the Swadeshi Movement and Lokamanya Tilak's activities were drawn up and a close watch was kept upon them. The official reports preserved in the Central Records Office, Hyderabad, teem with such references.

Efforts of the administration were, as will be seen from the above reports, directed to keep the individual spirit abroad in check through proscription of (1) objectionable books, (2) prohibition of newspapers from outside the State, (3)

1. From File No. 10 (Special Branch) 1317 F./1908 Home Secretariat Government of Hyderabad,

expulsion of outsiders working in the State and (4) strong action against prominent workers in the field.

In the year 1908 Sri Datto Appaji Tuljapurkar, a leading Vakil practising in the Residency area, was expelled from the State for taking prominent part in the seditious movement taking place in the Deccan. Sri Tuljapurkar was a subject of the Hyderabad State. He studied in Poona and practised for some time in the Bombay High Court before he came to Hyderabad in 1905. He soon started taking an active part in the Swadeshi movement in Hyderabad and contributed articles to *Kesari* of Poona and other papers. His activities were considered objectionable and he was expelled from the Residency area on 4th August 1908. On representation from the Resident a similar order was passed by the Government of Hyderabad expelling him from the State. Sri Tuljapurkar protested that he was a subject of the Nizam and the order expelling him from the State was unjust. After a prolonged correspondence restrictions on his entry were removed in 1918, on his giving an undertaking to refrain from political propaganda. While at Bombay Sri Tuljapurkar wrote his famous Marathi novel *Mazhe Ramayan* which contains abundant references to conditions in Hyderabad prevailing at the time, written in a high literary style. It will thus be seen that the period from 1901-1908 was full of public awakening in various fields. In Telangana awakening started with the establishment of libraries due to the efforts of the Raja of Munagal, Mr. K. Laxman Rao and others. Sri Madapati Hanumanth Rao also made his appearance in public life at this time. He was later to become the pioneer of public awakening in Telangana. The educational institutions like the Vivek Vardhani and the Nutan Vidyalaya High Schools had sprung up during this period. Marathi libraries, gymnasiums like Hanuman Vyayam Shala and clubs like the Sanmarg Darshak established in 1893 were existing during this period. The Swadeshi Movement received a great fillip due to the wave of enthusiasm which spread into British India, following the partition of Bengal and the trial and deportation of Lokamanya Tilak. Among the Muslims an urge for social and educational reforms became apparent due to the efforts of Mulla Abdul Qayum to which a reference has already been made in a previous chapter. The activities of persons like Maulavi Mohib Hussain and Maulavi Mohamed Murtuza in this direction will be described in the following chapter.

CHAPTER X.

MOHIB HUSSAIN, JOURNALIST AND SOCIAL REFORMER

It has been remarked earlier that Mohib Hussain was one of the architects of journalism in Hyderabad as early as 1880. His journal *Muallim-e-Shafiq* to which the great Pan-Asian Missionary Jamal-ud-din Afghani contributed his articles, had started functioning, about this time. Mohib Hussain was the editor of other journals like *Muallim-e-Niswan* and *Afsar*. Dr. Abdur Rahman Khan, a retired principal of the Osmania University College, who was a student of Mohib Hussain, refers to him as the pioneer of female education in Hyderabad. Through his journal *Muallim-e-Niswan* which was devoted exclusively to women's welfare Mohib Hussain carried on a campaign for social and educational reforms amongst women. He was against the pardah system. His trenchant criticism of the pardah system created a furore in Hyderabad to such an extent that government closed down his paper. He was also ridiculed by the orthodox section of the community. But Mohib Hussain carried out his mission of social and educational reforms, unremittingly. He was a nationalist to the core and criticised the policies of the British in India and the Middle East. He was also an advocate of national unity and was against the two-nation theory which was taking roots steadily at the time. After 1904 Mohib Hussain returned towards mysticism and devoted himself to mystic poetry. He died in the year 1930, but his activities till 1904 in the field of journalism and educational and social reforms have secured for him a prominent place in the history of the freedom struggle in Hyderabad. The following is a note on his life:—

Mohib Hussain came from Northern India, Ittawa being the native place of his ancestors. Invited by Mohsanul Mulk, he came over to Hyderabad in 1877 and was appointed on a Translator's post in the Revenue Secretariat. He won fame on account of his several achievements. Firstly, he became famous as an editor as he started a literary monthly magazine *Muallim-e-Shafiq* in 1882. After two years, in 1884, he was able to convert his monthly magazine into a weekly journal. It ceased publication after some time but he started another monthly magazine, *Muallim-e-Niswan* in 1892,

After some years, in 1904 he started an Urdu Weekly, *Ilm-o-Amal*, which was understood to be enjoying the patronage of Akbar Jung, the then Commissioner of City Police. He also edited for some time Afsarul Mulk's paper, the *Afsar*.

Paying a tribute to the journalistic services of Maulana Mohib Hussain, Shri Qazi Abdul Ghaffar, the ex-editor of *Payam*, writes:—

“ Though the late Maulana Mohib Hussain had declared a holy war through his writings, half a century ago, and there was no doubt that his aims and intentions might have gained further strength by his impressions of Jamaluddin Afghani's company, the period (about 1904), while he was introducing his Reforms Movement, through his daily paper *Ilm-o-Amal* was marked by a national revolution throughout the continent of Asia, while India also was entering a new era. A slight reflection of the repercussions, exercised by the conditions, then prevailing outside the Deccan, on the minds of the people possessing some intelligence and vision, may be seen in the pages of the *Ilm-o-Amal*.

In the first place, what is most surprising for me is the fact that in latter half of the 19th century, Maulvi Mohib Hussain was courageous enough to raise the banner of his revolt against the reactionary elements of the country. He desecrated the conventional traditions of the social life of the day and could bear the prejudice and anger of the social monopoly holders of his time. His inherent ability and originality enabled him to accomplish this task, single handed and friendless. ”

Qazi Saheb further observes, “ It was the time when the atmosphere in Hyderabad was not at all favourable for any political discussions. In spite of it Maulvi Mohib Hussain had already touched the ‘Forbidden Tree’ of political criticism. You may imagine the political inertia which had over-run every walk of life here, 40 years ago. You may also imagine the presence in Hyderabad of a journalist, who was bold enough to protest against the posting of the European Police for the arrests of the European offenders, who also wrote articles against the evil of corruption, who emphasised the need to send up young men from Hyderabad to Europe and America for higher studies, who opposed feudalism, and used his pen with full force on the problems of the workers and

peasants and who claimed the rights and privileges of journalism. He wrote:

‘It is the first duty of the local papers to reasonably criticise the Government actions. . . . and to actively protect the rights of the subjects.’

He wrote in his paper as to what lesson India should learn from the victory of Japan. He published in his paper the presidential Address to the National Congress and commented upon the Congress movement in these words:—

‘While the ultimate aim of the Congress is to convey the grievances of the people irrespective of Hindus and Muslims to the Government to get them redressed, to create some political thought in the country, to make the people know their own rights as well as those of the Government, it is strange that certain prominent Muslims of the North-Western Province (Perhaps he meant Sir Syed Ahmed Khan) should have shown their opposition to that body. Is it an offence to know one’s own rights, to discuss them and to bring them to the notice of the Government in the shape of a memorandum?’

Even 16 or 17 years earlier to this he had already written in his “*Muallim-e-Shafique*” with the same courage:—

‘We fail to understand why Indian people are not allowed to associate with the Government now and why they are not treated as equal to the European subjects in respect of all the powers. What reason for discrimination remains there to prefer Europeans to Indians. A matter, in which all the newspapers are raising criticism, is that native judges are not given the powers to decide the cases of Europeans, even if they are superior to the European judges in their ability and efficiency. On the contrary, an European judge is given full powers to decide all kinds of the cases of Indians, whether they may relate to the wordly affairs or religious matters, even if he has freshly arrived from England, even if he is completely unacquainted with the rules and customs current in India from the very beginning. We have regarded this discrimination as an injustice. Now it has become frivolous and quite unreasonable. We boldly declare that such discrimination, ultimately leads to very undesirable results for any Government.’

While this English Government claims to be attempting to divert all its Indian subjects from prejudice and injustice to fairplay and justice, at the same time it throws the

blame of prejudices and injustice on the former Government of India. It describes the Muslim Kings as communalistic and aggressors in its writings, schools and books of history. In spite of all this, it does never judge its own actions."

The Qazi Saheb further observes, "Is it not the very essence of what we are now writing everyday in our journals? Maulvi Mohib Hussain's writings were marked with the same spirit, nearly half a century ago. Hence there is no doubt that the first builder, the pioneer of patriotic journalism in Hyderabad was the late Maulvi Mohib Hussain. His name will be enjoying the pride of the place, when the history of the Growth of Journalism in Hyderabad will be written."

The Qazi Saheb writes, "That pioneer of Journalism in Hyderabad had expressed, about the unity among Muslims, the same opinion which was expressed 40 years later. He declared, 'It is utterly wrong to think that Hindus and Muslims are two different nations, which differ from each other in their blood, way of life, customs, habits and beliefs. If we cast a glance on their way of life, customs and habits we find that both of them are people of one big nation and are only nominally considered to be different from each other, merely on religious considerations.' The Qazi Sahib says, "You may imagine how the writer of the above lines was advancing ahead of the age, in which he lived. When I think that the ashes of the political fire in Hyderabad were hiding such a spark in themselves, it further strengthens my belief that the mysterious ways of nature, in every age, keep such sparks hiding in the ashes of time, preserving their warmth, so that this warmth may give rise to flames at any other time in future. Such is the circle of revolutions of life. These are the ebb and flow of ages of nations. There is an ebb after every flow and every flow may have an ebb. The late Maulvi Mohib Hussain's views are fully applicable to the circumstances and conditions prevailing today. It applies to them to that extent that it was the voice of a lonely watchman, which we were hearing in a dark night, 40 years ago. Today, when the dawn seems to be approaching, it will be a great ingratitude if we forget that watchman of the night, or his message or the reasons for which he gave that message."

Another factor, which won fame for Mohib Hussain, was his point of view, held by him regarding female education and his opposition to the Purdah system. Opposition to purdah had first begun only in Hyderabad. He not only

wrote articles on this subject in his journals but also delivered lectures at the meetings organized by different associations. He preached his mission through his writings and speeches. He won the support of young men but some persons also became antagonistic to him. Pamphlets were issued in reply to his articles and they demanded from Maulavi Mohib Hussain first to bring the women folk of his own house out of purdah.

It may be said that his writings and views, which made him famous, do not have so much force as the fact that he may be held as the pioneer and builder of a revolution in the journalistic world in Hyderabad.

Mohib Hussain knew English. He had also translated some books, including Taylor's famous work 'The Confessions of a Thug'. He was strongly opposed to the poems and odes, which were prescribed for the girl students. He had prepared suitable books for women, according to a particular course, excluding from it the pernicious poetry.

Mohib Hussain was also a poet of a high order. Instead of indulging in wasteful thinking and composing odes, he composed poems, containing moral lessons and the message of reforms. We can say that he was a torch-bearer of freedom.

Mohib Hussain had a great love and regard for Afsarul Mulk's family. He had been the tutor of several girls of that family and played a considerable part in mending their thoughts and bringing them up to the new standards.

Before 1885 Mohib Hussain was considered to be a liberal person. He was intimately associated with Jamaluddin Afghani and preferred his company. Persian articles by Jamaluddin Afghani were published in Mohib Hussain's *Muallim-e-Shafique*.

After 1906 Mohib Hussain changed the sphere of his activities. He became interested in mysticism, became a disciple (of some spiritual leader) and advanced ahead in spiritualism. During this period his poetry was marked with ideas of mysticism.

Maulvi Mohib Hussain died in 1930 and was buried on a hill before the Idgah, by the side of the grave of his spiritual leader.

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Given below is a Free Translation of some of Maulvi Mohib Husain's couplets.

Our nation is most conservative and adamant in nature,

It adheres to the oldest customs and habits.

There is a rivalry between the right and the wrong from the very beginning,

Wherever there is corruption, no justice can be found there.

Industrialists of Europe are extracting all the wealth from India and taking it to their own country.

Then how can poverty-stricken India be prosperous?

Even if they attempt to resemble an Englishman by wearing a civilized dress,

They cannot hide their rustic face.

Love of motherland is enjoined on every son of the soil. Every person should keep this duty foremost.

The soil of the motherland requests every child at the time of its birth:

“I have a request to make before you most humbly
Face every calamity for love of motherland.

In the trying moment be prepared to lay down your life for me.”

Our respect and honour rest only on the freedom of the motherland.

You have not yet faced the disrespect of slavery.

Those nations, which have come under stranger's rule, have been eliminated.

In slavery all the rights of the children of the country are destroyed.

Slaves are never given the rights and privileges of free people.

Political Verses

Teeraths and the disciples of Gurus are no longer to be seen.

We find the shouts of ‘cheers’ at every meeting in the country.

The Congress, the gatherings and these rejoicings,

Lend a pleasant colour to the meetings of Indians.
The foreigner cannot like the friendships among
our countrymen.

But a brother is fond of his brother.

O Mohib, those people, who work for disunity
between Hindus and Muslims,

Are more dangerous than the deadly snakes.

* * *

A word in closing about another educationist who
belongs to this period.

While educational institutions like the Vivek Vardhini Pathashala and the Nutan Vidyalaya High School, were springing up due to the efforts of Sri Keshav Rao Koratkar, Waman Naik, Deulgaonkar and others and men like Mulla Abdul Qayum were pleading for Compulsory Education, an eminent educationist of Hyderabad appeared on the scene. Mr. Mohamed Murtuza who was educated in Hyderabad and was employed in Government service came out with his stirring pamphlet *Rooh-e-Taraqi*, ('the soul of progress') in the year 1904. In this pamphlet he has emphasised how education was absolutely necessary for the progress of the State. He has traced the development of education in Hyderabad and pointed out how Salar Jung I was responsible for starting institutions like the *Dar-ul-Uloom*, the Chaderghat High School, the City High School, the *Madrassa-e-Aizza*, the *Madrassa-e-Aliya*, the Chaderghat College, the Engineering College and the Medical School. Mr. Murtuza emphasised that education could be useful only when it was imparted, not through English, but through Urdu. He deplored the dependence of the Nizam College on the University of Madras and urged that a separate University should be established for Hyderabad known as the Nizami University. He pleaded for a Translation Bureau, a suitable library in Urdu and more attention to technical education. Mr. Murtuza was the first nationalist in Hyderabad who envisaged the possibility for a separate University for the State in which English was not to be the medium of instruction. He continued his efforts in this direction until in the year 1915 he became instrumental in starting the First Educational Conference in Hyderabad. The pamphlet issued by Mr. Murtuza on education, together with the book on Compulsory Education published by Mulla Abdul Qayum in 1895, constitutes one of the important landmarks in the evolution of educational activities in the State,

CHAPTER XI

BARRISTER SRI KISHAN'S ACTIVITIES

In September 1908 disastrous floods occurred in the river Musi and caused a great loss of life and property in the Hyderabad city. The sufferings of the population were very heavy. In the relief of the distress, government received unstinted co-operation from private agencies and philanthropists. During the period 1908-1910 the Swadeshi agitation was growing especially following the arrest, trial and deportation of Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak. The Swadeshi Movement branched off into revolutionary activities of a band of young men headed by the Savarkar Brothers. Sri Vinayak Damodar Savarkar was at that time in England. His activities attracted considerable sympathy among the Indian students residing there at that time. Among these Barrister Sri Kishan, a student of Hyderabad, was closely associated with Sri Savarkar. When Barrister Sri Kishan returned in 1910 to India, a close watch was kept upon him by the administration of Hyderabad. He was prohibited from returning to England to complete his legal studies. The ban on him was only lifted in 1920. This is what Barrister Sri Kishan has to say about his activities in England during the years 1908-1910 and the harassment to which he was subjected when he returned to India in 1910:—

(1)

“It is well-known that Bengal has been in the vanguard of the national struggle, and has in the real sense of the word laid the foundation of the national spirit, which as it grew gave life and vitality to the whole nation, enabling it, despite the oppression of the British, to keep the banner of Independence aloft. Realizing the force of the Bengal movement, the British resorted to all sorts of measures, for breaking the spirit and backbone of the people. Bengal was on its onward march and suffered the rigours of repression cheerfully. The result was the British had to yield and undo the partition of Bengal. The whole atmosphere was surcharged, with national idealism. Surendranath Bannerjee, Bipin Chandrapal, Aswin Kumar Dutt, Arabindo Ghose were leading the nation; Dada Bhai Naoroji, Tilak, Lajpat Rai and Aji Singh were there too, giving their backing and support to the movement. Swaraj was defined. Bankim Chandra gave the Bande Mataram song, and Arabindo

Ghose appeared on the scene, with his *Bande Matram* and *Karma Yoga* and in a few months, with his speeches and writings revolutionised the whole trend of the thought of the Bengal people, and through them of the whole nation. Intellectually, the people were made to understand that the two fundamental issues were, the actual fact of the nation's slavery not only physically, its independence gone, but also culturally, as it had been made to believe that its past both politically and culturally was rotten, and future could be bright only if it followed western methods and ideals, discarding its own, and that Britain was going to sit tight on India, unless literally driven out by superior prowess and strength, which can only be done by a revolt against its authority and power. This was the period of intense activity both in India and outside and various organizations had come into being, which were working to bring about a revolt of the national forces against Britain. Abhinav Bharat and Freedom of Hindustan League were the most important of them. Shyamji Krishna Verma, Har Dayal, Savarkar, Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, V. V. S. Subramanya Iyer were organising forces and putting the revolutionary ideal before the people. At this time Savarkar's book *The War of Independence* had been published and his life of Mazzini. And Virendranath Chattopadhyaya was issuing his *Talwar* which said "Indians shall never be slaves" and had Bahadur Shah's poem as its introduction:—

So Long as there will be faith and devotion in the
fighters, the sword of Hindustan will go up to London.

It was during this period that I happened to be in England from 1908-1910. In a moderate way, Bipin Chandrapal was conducting his *Swaraj* and impressing the people of England with the idea that as Tilak had said: "*Swaraj* was the birthright of an Indian, so India will have it, cost what it may, and no power on earth can stop it. The future can be built only on the foundations of the past, and for that, we should instead of condemning our institutions, traditions and culture, try, to understand them, and draw inspiration therefrom." Dada Saheb Khaparde was there for the Tilak appeal which was then pending before the Privy Council, entertaining and enthusing us with his jovial talk, anecdotes and big cheroots. And Madame Cana was inspiring us by unfurling her flag of Indian Independence and bold talks. Gokhale was being boosted up by the British Government and people and simultaneously with it Sir Henry Cotton,

Sir Henry Wedderburn and a few other Englishmen were trying to evince sympathy for the Indians' aspirations and Dhingre had appeared on the scene and finished up Sir Curzon Wylie of the India Office in the Caxton Hall and precipitated the attention of the world on the Indian problem.

Moved by this idea, I dived into the pictures and beauties of our culture and traditions, and tried to give expression to my views in the booklet I wished to publish "The Beauties of our culture and traditions, and tried to give expression it, the mood changed. A few chapters were misplaced and lost; the remaining ones that were found, are being published in this compilation. During this period, I had written too a complete handbook on "The Theory and Methods of Revolution" and had handed it over to my friends of the Revolutionary party for publication. I don't know if it has been published or has been lost in their movings to and fro, which most of us had to do, to escape being caught. There were a few chapters of another book that I was writing "The Italian Revolution." This manuscript I was bringing with me when I was returning from England in 1910 and it was at Bombay, the customs Officials, while examining my luggage, which then consisted of a few shirts and underwears, and books and manuscripts, took forcible possession of this manuscript together with other books, as in England, just at that time, the British Police had taken away the manuscript of "the History of the Sikhs" that Savarkar had written after a laborious research work, from his trunk, when he had been arrested at Dover when he was returning to England from France after a two months' sojourn there, despite his friends' insistence not to leave Paris, because we had information at the instance of the Government of India, the warrant of arrest had been issued. He was to be arrested as soon as he came to England. His reply was 'Let it be. If I am not arrested, I shall continue my work and if I am incarcerated would devolve work on others.' It was the reply of a patriot who worked undauntedly and without thinking of the consequences.

The last I saw of him was in the Brixton Prison in April 1910, and we talked about many things during the few minutes that were allotted to us for the interview. I don't suppose there will be any harm done if I were to divulge the secret now that it was here we had planned the mode

and manner of his escape, when the ship anchored at Marseilles, and how he was to be taken to the interior from the shore. But unfortunately, before the people arrived, the officers of the ship managed to get him back. In the normal course, even after that as Savarkar had landed on the French soil, as a political offender, he should have been handed over to France. But the British influence and money got the Hague Court to decide otherwise.

Savarkar was the initiator and moving spirit of the revolutionary party that was working in Europe and America. During these days for the liberation of the country from the British yoke, I had the pleasure of working with him for nearly two years. His character, sincerity, fearlessness and grasp of facts and realities of the situation, and more than that his love for the mother-land enthused and inspired us all.”¹

(2).

“Here is a frank exchange of views between me and Sir Reginald Glancy, who was then the Vice-President of the Indian Council, as between two friends. My acquaintance with him and attachment started from the time he became the Finance Member of the Hyderabad Government after he had served as Secretary to the Resident in 1912. He was in the Residency, when at the instance of the Government of India enquiry was being conducted by D. S. Hankin, the District Commission of Police as regards my revolutionary activities and my connection with the different conspiracy cases that the Government had launched and was launching in different parts of the country and which continued from day to day for nearly two years, and which ended only after the matter was precipitated by my late father Rai C. Bal Mukund, the then High Court Judge and my late brother C. Balkishen, who then a Police Inspector under Mr. Hankin himself, put in their resignations, as in their opinion, the Government of India was unduly prolonging the enquiry, and harassing me by giving out threats and by its insistence for my being deported from Hyderabad as I was a dangerous revolutionary, who should not be allowed to stay. During that period, my deportation from Hyderabad had been proposed two or three times by the Government of India and each time it was opposed by H.E.H. the then Resident Sir Charles Bay, Nawab Faridun Jung and C. S.

1. “Forty-five years a Rebel” by Barrister C. Sri Kishen pp. 2-3.

Hankin. My father was held in very high esteem not only by His Highness and by officials of the Nizam's Government, but by the Resident and the British officials: the matter took a sudden turn and the enquiry ended, but by order of the present Nizam, I was prohibited from going to England as the Government of India considered I might prove a dangerous person there. This prohibition was removed in 1920 at the insistence of C. S. Hankin, and Sir Reginald Glancy, who had come to have great affection and regard for me. And I went to England and completed my course for the Bar.

This I did, as I wished to settle down outside Hyderabad, in Bombay or some other suitable place, with a view to renew my political activities, which had come to a dead stop in a way on account of my stay in Hyderabad. But that was not to be. After completion of the course, I had to return to Hyderabad and stay on indefinitely because my eldest brother Rai C. Balkishen had a serious attack of paralysis, for whom I had a great affection. I had come to know of this illness of his just a month prior to my departure, in November 1920.

So on account of this friendship between us, when things were taking a serious turn, and the conflict between India and England was getting tenser, as Sir Reginald Glancy happened to be the Vice-President of the India Council, I wrote to him a personal friendly letter giving a frank expression of my views, and pointed out to him the fact that the only course left open for England, if she desired the friendship of the Indian people and wished to maintain cordial relations with them, was to recognise her right to Freedom and Independence, and be rid of the alien yoke altogether—otherwise, there was bound to be bitter opposition and resistance on the part of the Indians, with whatever consequences that may bring. As a true Englishman, he talked in an altruistic vein and tried to make out that what I had said was in reality the present policy of the Administration. In reply I made things still clearer. The importance of these letters is that they show that the best of Englishmen could only think of the relationship between India and England in the way Sir Reginald Glancy did in these letters.

It would be of interest if I were to reproduce the gist of the conversation I had with Mr. C. S. Hankin and Sir Reginald Glancy during this period.

I have said, at this time, there was an inquiry conducted by Mr. C. S. Hankin. I had returned from England and it was known that Shyamji Krishna Varma, Savarkar, Virendranath Chattopadhyaya and others, prominent revolutionaries, were my friends and companions, that I had taken great interest in the defence of Savarkar, had collected funds amounting to more than a couple of lakhs for Savarkar's defence while he was being prosecuted under the Fugitive Offender's Act to be handed over to the Indian Government for his connection in the Nasik conspiracy case, and perhaps was a revolutionary myself. So the very next day of my arrival, Mr. Hankin asked me if I had brought bombs with me, and was going to send him off. He had great affection for the family yet he could resist the temptation to put that question though it was done only humourously. Later, coming to the real matter at issue, he put me direct questions, which were as under: I must make a note here that during those days the Law of Sedition was an all-embracing Law, which literally roped in thousands of Indians, prominent and otherwise in its clutches and it was a tragic fact, we had not enough courage to own our convictions and ideals. The attempt always used to be, that it does not come in the purview of the section, and escape somehow, by higgling and bargaining with the ideal itself from the clutches of Law. So you can understand what my position was, a revolutionary put in the hands of an English Commissioner of Police, at the behest of the Government of India.

1. Do you really believe that you should have Swaraj, and we Englishmen should go with bag and baggage from India?
2. What is your idea of Swaraj and Independence?
3. Are you fit for Swaraj? Suppose if we agree to grant it to you, and go away from here, are you in a position, and would you be able to defend yourself against internal disorder and external aggression? What about Hindus and Muslims? Would not they be cutting each other's throats if we go?
4. Have you any army and navy? Have you the technical knowledge, equipment and personnel and resources to create and maintain the army and navy required for India's purpose

and can you do all this without our help and guidance?

5. Coming to the immediate question: What about Russia and Afghanistan who are already casting eyes on India, and will invade her, the moment we leave the Indian shores? You will simply change masters. Instead of us you will have others.

These were difficult questions to answer. Here were my replies:—

1. Yes, it is not only a question of belief and conviction, it is a necessity and sooner or later we will have it. We want you certainly to go away bag and baggage but we know you will not go by our just saying it. We would have to assert our strength and send you out.

2. Why this question? Swaraj means one's own—that is our own Raj and Independence signifies that there should not be any yoke of another over us, domination of us by others. We desire to be independent in our country as you are in yours.

3. Certainly, this atmosphere of unfitness has been started and created by you. If there are many weaknesses and drawbacks, they are on your account and will be there so long as you are there. We can look after ourselves. The question of internal disorder does not arise, but if really such an event does happen, the nation will have means to adjust matters; as regards ability to defend ourselves against foreign foes, certainly, because you must understand that this question arises for us after you go, and your going depends on our sending you out, and that we should be assertive, bold, organised and strong enough in every sense of the word, to finish and uproot a power like you that had entrenched itself for nearly 200 years, and who takes advantage of our weaknesses and stoops to the foulest means to keep us down. So if we succeed in our efforts, it would mean, we should be stronger than you, and you happen to be the First power in the world. In such an event, who would dare approach us. Then the second point is after our success, throughout, you will be the very first nation in the world to befriend us and seek an alliance with us, as you did with America after declaration of independence and your finish up there, and then, India and England combined would keep off the aggressor,

and if in spite of such a favourable set of circumstances an enemy does turn up, he would have a very rough time and tough fight. India awakened and fully conscious as she is now would die to her last man and shed her last drop of blood before allowing a foreigner to come in, and if the enemy succeeds, we will bow to the inevitable and superior force.

As regards the Hindus and the Muslims cutting each other's throats if you go, the only thing that can be said is that the matter has not yet acquired that shape, though your attempt since Curzon's time and even earlier has been to create this kind of rift between the two communities, that they should begin to think their interests are not identical and that they should move in two different groves. Now if you succeed and your wishes materialize, then there can be no Swaraj. It is only when these do not play into your hands and fall a prey to your baits, that we can think of driving you out by our united strength.

4. This is a relevant question, but the insolence of it is astounding. You have established yourself here with our own man-power, having disorganised our martial races, and regular military forces that the States possessed. The navy we had was finished to make room for yours to take its place and in later years, when you became the actual ruler of the land, with our resources you built the Indian Army, Navy, etc. The whole material equipment and personnel was there to subserve your purpose. Indians were there to do the cooly's or scavenger's work and were very carefully kept out and not given any chance of acquiring any knowledge technical or otherwise, in the military or the naval sense of the 100th degree, lest this very thing may become the means of driving you out. You should be ashamed to put this question this way to the nation which was not only standing erect in her own country, but had spread her sway over distant parts of the world when she was a rising nation and her stars were in the ascendant and you were moving like savages in the desert. Then again, the position is this. You are a clever people and through your mutual pacts and alliances, have made it practically impossible for an Indian to get this sort of training or knowledge anywhere. The other powers care more for your friendship and cordiality than that of a nation that is down and which has no immediate prospect of occupying that position, which alone, in this world of greed and grab attracts people. Those of us, who are now working as

revolutionaries know to our cost and dismay, what difficulties you have created in our way, and that it is only by secret working and underground activity, and offering fight to you in some way or other than the common one, that we can gain our objective. As regards your help and guidance, the less of it the better, and once we have made up our minds that way, we can secure the required technical assistance from whatever quarter it becomes available to us. It is only when we are independent and free from your influence that we can think of having an army and navy worth the name.

5. It is your scare, not ours. You make use of it to keep us down and build your strength so that you may be on your onward march that way and be a threat to Russia. Afghanistan is just a pawn in the game. A strong India will not fear anybody. You want to keep her down, make her weak-kneed and wish to frighten her by advancing such threats.

Similar questions had been put to me by the Editor of *The Westminster Gazette*, when I had taken those series of articles 'What India feels today' to him. We had a discussion for more than one hour. At the end of it I told him we realize that you are very altruistic, and are really in India for our sake not yours. We can never be too grateful for what you have done and intend doing, and we realise that you intend to grant us Swaraj, when we are fit for it, and that you are actually bringing us nearer it by giving us the required training, but kindly humour us a while, and as a test just see, if we really are capable of managing our affairs and defending ourselves, after you go just take six months furlough, come back this side of Suez, and when at the end of it, we are not able to do things as we should, then come back, altruistic as you are. This abruptly ended the conversation and he handed me back the papers, saying: "I understand."¹

1. "Forty-five years Rebel" by Barrister C. Srikishen, pp. 16-24,

CHAPTER XII

MR. JACKSON'S MURDER AND ITS REPERCUSSIONS IN HYDERABAD

Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak was sentenced to six years' simple imprisonment in the month of July 1908. This created great agitation throughout India and particularly in Maharashtra. Later, on the 21st December 1909 Mr. Jackson, the Collector of Nasik, was murdered while entering a theatre at Nasik. These two incidents had their repercussions in the Hyderabad State, especially in Marathawada.

At Gulberga a school by name Nutan Vidyalaya was started immediately after Lokmanya's conviction. The names of the founders are Messrs. Vithal Rao and Keshav Rao Koratkar along with that of Gopal Rao and Garud Rao. Sri Keshav Rao Koratkar then had already incurred the displeasure of the Government on account of his efforts to collect funds for the defence of Lokmanya Tilak. He was likely to be even deported. This School it is believed was inspired by the writings of Lokmanya in the *Kesari*. The organizers of the School were Maratha Brahmins. They did not need a private school for mere education of the boys, because a Govt. school existed there in Bramhapur at a distance of about a mile. The members in charge of the institution were tactful and wise. Mr. Trimbak Balwant Gogte was the Head Master of the school. Mr. Gogte was a teacher in the Canadian Mission School at Indore. In 1908 he took a leading part in the Ganesh Utsav at Indore. He was dismissed from the school and banished from the State. Mr. Gogte was employed as an Assistant Head Master in the Ratnagiri district and later became Head Master at Gulbarga Nutan Vidyalaya. The Allahabad University had cancelled permission for Mr. Gogte to appear at the M.A. examination. Upon the suggestion of the Residency an Arzadasht was submitted to the Nizam and Mr. T. B. Gogte was expelled from the State. In the summer of 1910 Edward VII died and a meeting of condolence was held in Gulbarga where Mr. Gogte made a speech. Mr. Gogte is reported to have said that as the King Emperor was dead Lokmanya Tilak should have been freed. The reports of responsible persons about the school were extremely satisfactory. Mr. Gogte was expelled in the month

of September 1910 by a Firman-i-Mubrak. Mr. Gogte has been described as brown in colour and of medium stature. He was $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft. tall and 30 years of age. His face bore the marks of small-pox. It was in 1920 again that Mr. Gogte had requested the Nizam's Govt. to remove the ban on his entry and there was every likelihood of his being allowed to enter the State. But the report from Mr. Gayer was unfavourable and therefore Mr. Gogte could not come to Hyderabad.

Even at Osmanabad a new school under the political influence of Lokmanya Tilak was started. The Post Master of the Imperial Post Office was conducting Private classes under his guidance. Mr. Walchand, a Gujrathi, worth rupees 3 to 4 lakhs, opened an English school on the same lines as were adopted by the Nutan Vidyalaya at Gulbarga. Currents of political consciousness spread through all the schools in the Marathwada and therefore one Mr. Charles Stewart Naidu was appointed as special officer for keeping watch on the departmental employees.

Mr. Jackson the collector of Nasik was shot by Anant Lakshman Kanere, a student of the Arts School of Aurangabad and a member of a Secret Society established at Nasik. Anant Kanere was escorted to Nasik by two fellow students Kashinath Hari Ankushkar and Dattatraya Pandurang Joshi. These two young men wanted to run away from Nasik after the murder but they were arrested at the Railway Station. The statements of these two young men gave a clue to discover the ramifications and membership of the secret society in the Hyderabad State.

The names revealed by D.P. Joshi and Kashinath Hari Ankushkar were all true and those persons were individually approached and their statements were noted. Among these young men there were some who belonged to British India and had escaped from Nasik and other parts to conceal themselves in the Nizam's territory and remained with their relatives. And others were *bona-fide* mulkies who had been inspired by the outsiders. There were others who were mulkies but had been receiving education and inspiration in British India and they had returned after their education or leaving their education to carry on this patriotic propaganda. All these persons had to suffer punishment and harassment in some form or other. The members of this society took a secret oath and generally a single person alone was given the oath

which would be administered also by a single person. Therefore, those who were initiated would not know each other. The interest of the Govt. was in tracing out all the automatic revolvers sent by Sawarkar from England. Only one could be traced out of the twenty. The fear was that if they could not be traced many more murders would take place.

Dattatraya Pandurang Joshi was a resident of Pimpri and stayed at Aurangabad with his younger brother and mother. D. P. Joshi was a classmate of Gangaram Rupchand Marwadi and knew Gangaram and Anant Lakshman Kanere since 5 years. Gangaram and Anant Kanere studied in the Arts School. Anant had no relatives in Aurangabad. Kashinath Ankushkar also came from Pimpri. Gangaram Marwadi seems to have been the ringleader of the whole party. He used to administer oaths to everybody singly and separately. There was closest friendship between Gangaram and Anant. The object of the secret society was to make the country independent, to get rid of the foreign yoke and to undergo all risks for that.

The names of the persons who were said to be involved in the Secret Society as members were as follows:—

- (1) Dattatray Dinkar Abhyankar.
- (2) Bhaskar Abaji Rasal.
- (3) Damodar Narayan Joshi.
- (4) Vithal Gopal.
- (5) Bhagwan Krishna Bhoomkar.
- (6) Tukaram Dalwalla.
- (7) Dattopant.
- (8) Mohan Shesha Rao Potdar.
- (9) Prabhakar Bhogle.
- (10) Bheem Rao Sonar.
- (11) Dattatraya Nagesh Bharaswadkar.
- (12) Umaji Shinde.
- (13) Dattatraya Govind Kale.
- (14) Balwant Sakharam Dingre.
- (15) Vaijanath Bhogle.

The Statement of D. P. Joshi is interesting and it is summarized below:—

“ I was kept aloof for some time but when oaths were being administered by Gangaram to every one, I suspected something and so one day I was asked to take oath. The main thing in the oath was to be prepared to do anything and never to reveal secrets. The secret society required money and the means of collecting money were thefts and dacoities. After a little time one Ganu Vaidya came from Nasik and took away Anant Kanere with him. This I came to know because Anant asked for some money deposited with me. But Anant did not go that day and waited for a letter from Vaidya Ganu of Nasik. Anant Kanere wanted to keep many things concealed from Gangaram. Anant had a loaded pistol with cartridges. He wanted to murder the Collector. One day he received a telegram that his brother was ill. He left Aurangabad with his revolver and did not allow Gangaram to accompany him. Anant had been practising shooting.

After the departure of Anant I received a letter from Ganu Vaidya who was given to understand by me that Anant had not been at Aurangabad. I had also received letters from Anant. After a fortnight Anant came to Aurangabad. Anant had got six half size and six small size photos of his. Anant told me that he had been to his brother who was shocked to see a revolver with him. The brother dissuaded Anant from his resolution but Anant warned him to mind his way. The activities of Ganu and Anant were watched by some detectives but it seems they escaped their vigilance. After Anant's return from Aurangabad a dacoity was being planned at Pimpri, but this was to be given up on account of insufficient arms. After this Kashinath and Bhagawan went to Hyderabad and brought a formula for making bombs. It was written in English and Balbodh. Ganu, Gangaram, myself and Anant discussed the question as to who should be asked to go to Pen and learn the process of making bombs. We could not get anybody.

A few days later a man by name Deshpande came from Nasik. He was anxious to have pistols made by somebody in Aurangabad or Beed. Deshpande said it was so difficult to get them in England. Ganu Lohar (iron-smith) said he could not make them. At Beed cartridges could be made. This Deshpande was about to start for Nasik when

I could learn that the Collector of Nasik was transferred and farewell meeting was arranged for him. A drama was to be performed by the Kirloskar Dramatic Company. If this Collector was not murdered at Nasik such opportunities may not have come again. Later it was settled that Anant Kanere and I also should go to Nasik. All of us reached Nasik, Kashinath, Anant and myself. Ganu Vaidya had been there to receive us. We went to Ganu Vaidya's house. Anant was not with us. We went for a walk in the evening. There were many young men who came and talked to Ganu secretly. When we returned home, a young man came to Ganu and said every thing was done. The Collector was murdered. Some pistols and cartridges they had were to be concealed. Ganu said he would make arrangements to see that we could escape from Nasik. When we went to the train it had left. Myself and Kashinath were suspected by a constable and were taken to Nasik city.

Gangaram was the person who administered oaths to persons. This oath taking ceremony had some significance. They were bound by secrecy.

(1) Tukaram Dalwalla was the son of Manu Lall and lived in Shah Ganj. He owned a grain shop. He was interested in gymnastics. An oath was administered to him.

(2) Dattatrya Dinkar Abhyankar was the brother-in-law of Vaijanath Bhogle; Abhyankar's sister was married to him. The oath was administered by Gangaram to Abhyankar.

(3) Dattatrya Nagesh of Dawnimohalla. His father was a teacher in the Arts School. He did not take part in Baithaks but the oath was administered to him by Gangaram.

(4) Damodar Narayan Joshi. He stayed with Tavagaonkar. The oath was administered to him by Gangaram.

(5) Bhaskar Abaji Rasal, son of the Station Master at Satona, stayed in Raje Saheb's Wada in the Shaligram. The oath was administered to him. This enthusiast was always prepared to do some work or other.

(6) Vithal Gopal stays near the Gulmandi Houz. Gangaram gave him the oath.

(7) Prabhakar Bhogle, Assistant Master at the Paithan Middle School. He was a very smart person.

Gangaram administered the oath to him but he was to be persuaded by Dattoo Abhyankar and Kashinath Mohan Pottdar to stay opposite to the Vithoba temple at Aurangabad. He was clerk in the Nizam's Post Office. It is not known who gave him the oath. Umaji Shinde of Pimpri and Narayan of Limpri were also included in this secret society. There was one more person Baboo of Sari and yet another named Guru Gajaba. Some of the other names that appear and reappear in the statements of all the members of the Secret Society are those of Damodar Barve, Tukaram Dalwalla, Sadashiv Vishwanath Bapat, Pralhad Balwant Kale (under arrest at Nasik) Damodar Chintaman Bhogle, at Chader Ghat High School, Dattatrya Vaidya, Teacher at Nanded. Vinayak Tikhe was a very important person connected with the formula of bomb-making.

Raghunath Chintaman Ambdeker is also a very interesting figure. His uncle was Govind Mahadeo Sathe, a goods clerk at Tandur, and came from Nasik to stay with Sathe because his mother was no more. Raghunath stayed at Secunderabad to study at the Technical School of Seth Ramgopal. Raghunath and Waman Dhondur Punde administered the oath to Dharmalingayya, a son of Chetty living in Tandur. Raghunath lived with Vasudeo Dhondur Dikshit, a clerk in the Agents' Office, N.S. Railway, Secunderabad. Political consciousness came to him at Malegaon. At Nasik he read good papers the life of Mazzini and that of Garibaldi, the Marathi novel 'Usshakal' the history of the Mutiny of 1857 and the History of Japan. Such reading fired him with the ambition of becoming a patriot. Shankar Ramchandra became his class-mate in 1908. Both S. R. Soman and R. C. Ambedkar talked about the liberation of the country on the banks of the Godavari. Soman persuaded Raghunath to become a member of an association founded for freeing the country. An oath was administered with the picture of Ramdas in front of him. There other names of the members of the association were disclosed to Raghunath. They were Ganesh Balaji Vaidya, Balkrishna Janardhan Vaidya and Purushottam Dandekar. They paid a rupee per year and wanted to purchase arms to kill the Europeans who did injustice to the motherland. They practised shooting with air guns. Raghunath was told there was a store of arms at Panchawati but it was not shown to Raghunath. While leaving Nasik Soman showed a nickle-plated revolver and dagger to Raghunath and asked him to

collect such things and send them to him to Nasik. Raghunath was asked to increase membership of the association by finding good young men. Raghunath was asked to purchase acids which were useful in preparing bombs. I will recount from memory the acids noted on the paper which were given to him:—(1) Picric acid, (2) Alcoholic acid, (3) Sulphur, (4) Mercury, (5) Potash, (6) Sulphuric of Carbon, (7) Nitric acid, (8) Hydrochloric acid and (9) and (10) were powders the names of which I do not remember, cypher was used by them for writing letters to each other. Soman enquired the price of Buck shots. On account of Soman's pressure Raghunath enquired the whereabouts of the arms-shop of Bandu Sadashiv Kimbahune. Raghunath was asked to commit thefts, sell the stolen articles to a goldsmith pointed out by him from Nasik and send arms to Nasik. One Ganu Jog, a signaller, had sent four revolvers. Raghunath was told that a signaller had sent four revolvers. Raghunath was also told that one Baboo, who stayed in the Residency Bazars, purchased arms and Raghunath was asked to see him. Dinkar Raghunath Sadekar of Regimental Bazar knew Babu and also Namdeo D. Deokar knew Babu. Bandu Sadashiv Kimbahune said that two revolvers were sent by him to Poona in a pillow.

Mahadeo Rao Joshi's house at Secunderabad was searched when V. D. Dikshit asked him whether he was a member of the Association. He admitted that he was but promised to give up the association (19-1-1910).

Sham Rao, Malhar Rao Deshmukh's (Jahagirdar and Manasabdar's, house was searched. He had taken an oath but did not keep it. Balkrishna Rao, clerk in the Revenue Secretariat, Hanmant Damodar Barve and Govind Bhaskar Brave contractor,—their houses were also searched.

Hanumanth Damodar of Bijapur stayed with Govind Rao Kale B.A., Inspector of Schools, Medak. The house of this gentleman was searched.

B. A. Yadav Rao was Head Drawing Master at the Industrial School in Aurangabad. He was dismissed and his appeal was not favourably considered. The charge on him was that he showed indifference to Mr. Harris, Inspector of Arts School, on the day on which the murder of Jackson took place. He had entertained Kashinath the associate of Kanere for a long time. There were musical parties and

physical exercise at the house of one Mr. Sadashiv, a well-to-do Maratha. Yadav used to take part and attend those functions. Yadav Rao must have been in sympathy with the activities of this group and he moved very intimately with them. He deserved to be punished with dismissal. He was given salary for three months and gratuity.

Kashinath Balakrishna Padhye, Superintendent of the Industrial School, Nizamabad was also dismissed. There are references to show that Yadavrao, Bhogle, Katagare and Kale were dismissed. K. B. Padhye was a staunch supporter of the Swadeshi movement. He had some connection with a revolver case at Poona. The Bombay Police considered him a dangerous fellow and hence he was removed from service. Three months' salary and gratuity were given.

Narhar Trimbak Gharpure, Ex-Assistant Commissioner Settlement, Sarfe-e-Khas, was drawing Rs. 200 per month. He was a staunch supporter of the Swadeshi movement. He was the guardian of Dinkar Narayan Patwardhan. He was discovered to be connected with one Shivajee who was involved in subversive activities. A police report was received against him and he had to lose his service.

Balakrishna Hari Ankushkar and Narayan Hari Ankushkar were brothers of Kashinath Hari Ankushkar, the accomplice of Kanere. These two persons, Government servants, (the latter was a probationer), were dismissed.

Ratan Lall of Aurangabad was kept under vigilance for a very long time.

Sohoni was the Superintendent of the Industrial school at Aurangabad. He was transferred as a Translator to the Office of the Director, Public Instruction, from Aurangabad. The allegation against Sohoni was that a non-mulki student under him had committed the crime at Nasik. The names of Kale and Sohoni were noted by the Police as early as 1899.

After the attempt on Jackson's life, for the first time, in September 1909 a communication from the Punjab Police had come to the effect that a party in Hyderabad State was manufacturing arms and importing them into British territory. In the list of names Dr. Kibe, legal practitioner at

Aurangabad, Gopal Krishna, Assistant Conservator of forest, Kale, Inspector of Schools, and Sohoni, Superintendent Technical School had appeared. This Sohoni (Shankar Govind Sohoni) was removed from service.

Anant Lakshman Kanere was the son of Lakshman Kanere and came from a village named Aini in Ratnagiri district. A cousin of his was employed at Barsi road as a time-keeper. His uncle was Govind Barve a P.W.D. contractor. Kanere was a student of the Government High School from Ist Amardad 1312 Fasli (7th June 1903). He took drawing lessons in the Industrial School. He passed the first grade drawing test. On 7th Ardibehest 1318 Fasli (11th March 1909) Anant was admitted as a student in the Industrial School by Uttam Chand Marwadi. He was a very intelligent lad but took little interest in manual training. His attendance was irregular. He got a small scholarship. But he dressed well. His mathematical instruments and drawing appliances were very superior to all. He sometimes lived with Gangaram Marwadi. Gangaram was not admitted to the school, so he opened a Marathi School in Sarafa Lane. At the time of the death of Lokmanya Tilak, Gangaram had organized a meeting of the boys and asked them to demand a holiday. Anant had few friends and he spoke little and always lived in a detached group.

Once a party of students was taken to Khuldabad and Ellora to copy the sculptures there. But Anant evaded to join the party for reason of health. On the 17th of Bahman (20th December) Anant was present in the school. But on the 18th (21st December) he was seen at Manmad station and before 20th Bahman (23rd December) the murder of Jackson had taken place.

During these days a man by name Mokashi conducted a Yogic school at Aurangabad. There were strange reports about this man. A watch was kept by the police on him. He taught wrestling, Lathi and Indian club drill and some system of holding of breath so that even after being hanged one would not die. Mokashi came from Amaravati. It was rumoured that Mokashi's school had branches at Tuljapur and other places." ¹

Further correspondence and extracts in the subjects are reproduced below:—

1. From Files preserved in the Home Department, (H.E.H. the Nizam's Government).

“ Camp Aurangabad,
31st January 1910.

To

Nawab Nizmat Jung Bahadur, M.A., LL.B.,
Secretary to Government, Police, etc., Depts.,
H.H. the Nizam's Government.

*Report submitted under special powers given by H.H. the
Nizam, in his Firman dated.*

My dear Nizam Jung,

I have the honour to forward this report for such action as His Excellency thinks fit to suggest to His Highness. If this sort of thing is to be nipped in the bud the action must be prompt and of such a nature as to act as a warning to others. I beg that these papers do not go into your office, and that they be submitted through Mr. Faridoonji to His Excellency with your opinion.

As you are fully aware Mr. Jackson, the Collector of Nasik, was murdered on the 21st December, whilst entering a theatre. He was shot by Anant Laxuman Kanere, a student of the Arts School of Aurangabad and a member of a Secret Society, a branch of the Nasik one formed at Aurangabad by one Gangaram Marwadi whose statement has already been submitted to His Excellency. Anant Laxuman Kanere was escorted to Nasik by two fellow students, viz., Kashinath Hari Ankushkar and Dattatraya Pandurang Joshi. No sooner was Anant arrested than the Nasik Police searched for, and succeeded in arresting his 2 companions above-mentioned before they could leave Nasik Station. From the statement of these two students the Nasik Police unravelled what turns out to be a series of Secret Societies affiliated with the Savarker Society of Nasik. Savarker, the head of the Nasik Society, and brother of Savarker of India House Fame who is supposed to have instigated the murder of Sir Curzon Wylie has been transported for life, and it was to avenge this sentence that Anant and his party decided to murder Mr. Jackson, the Magistrate who committed Savarker to the Sessions. Mr. Kennedy, the Sessions Judge, gave him life.

So far the statements of Kashinath Hari Ankushkar and Dattatraya Pandurang Joshi have been found to be most

correct in every way and I must say that I was most favourably impressed with the straight forward way that they gave their evidence to me yesterday at Nasik. They never gave hearsay evidence as their own but always said "I heard so and so"; this of course is in keeping with the rules of the Secret Society. From their statements you will see that the following persons of Aurangabad are said to have taken the oath of allegiance to the Secret Society.

It is absolutely impossible to get the statements of any person outside the society to corroborate their statements. It is also impossible to get 2 members of a Secret Society to swear to one fact as eye-witnesses because strict secrecy was observed, and one member was not necessarily present when the oath was administered to the other, hence what we chiefly have to rely on is the uncorroborated statements of accomplices but there is the fact that over and over again both to the British Police, to the Magistrate, to my superintendent, and to me made the same statements, and the information given has always turned out to be true. It was on their original statements that the original houses were searched and many incriminating documents found such as in Tikhe's house for instance, and therefore I have every reason to believe that they are speaking the truth and that the persons mentioned by them have taken the oath, and I consider that it is dangerous to allow them at large. Anant took the oath so did Kashinath and Dattatraya and all 3 with others of Nasik are in for murder. What is to prevent these other members from doing likewise, if not now, in the near than far off future?

I have visited Nasik and spoken to many of the prisoners, some 50 in number. Each and every one seems proud of what he has done, and of the part he has taken in the general cause for what they are pleased to call the independence of their country.

That it is a dangerous and far reaching organization is proved by the fact of the murder and that no less than 20 automatic pistols were sent out from England by 'Savarker' of the India House Fame for the use of these Societies, all but one have been recovered and most of these on the statements of one man who told against the other. The finding of the pistols of course corroborated the statements, just as in the case of Kashinath regarding Tikhe having the Bomb

formula which was found exactly where he said it would be found in Tikhe's house.

The persons then who are implicated in taking the oath are as follows, and do not include the names of those under arrest at Nasik:—

1. Dattatraya Dinker Abhyanker,
2. Damodar Narain Joshi,
3. Bhasker Abaji Rasal,
4. Vithal Gopal,
5. Bhagwant Krishna Bhoomker, was also acquainted with Tikhe,
6. Tukaram Dalwalla,
7. Datto Pant in the Arts School, 2nd grade,
8. Mohan of Daoni Mohalla now in the Post Office, Hingoli as post master, and
9. Prabhaker Bhogle a school-master of Paithan Middle School, a rank Swadeshist and a recent student in the Aurangabad High School.

To most of these men Gangaram is said to have administered the oath. He naturally denies it but then he would of course, it is part and parcel of the vows of the Society not to divulge the secrets of one of the other. (See Gangaram's statement in full with Mr. Faridoonji. It is too long to copy again. Most of these oaths were given in Shrawan or $4\frac{1}{2}$ months ago. The first attempt on Mr. Jackson's life was in September last. Anant went but his courage failed him, and he returned unsuccessful).

You will see from Dattatraya Pandurang Joshi's statement that he mentioned the above names as men who had taken the oath. In Kashinath's statement made to me on oath he mentioned the following:—

1. Dattatraya Dinkar Abhyanker,
2. Damodar Narain Joshi,
3. Bhagwant Krishna Bhoomker,
4. Bhasker Abaji Rasal,

5. Bheem Rao Sonar,
6. Mohan Sesha Rao Potdar, the Post Master at Hingoli, also No. 8 in the above statement,
7. Tukaram Dalwalla,
8. Dattatraya Nagesh Bharaswadker,
9. Prabhaker Kashinath Bhogle, School Master of Paithan, and formerly a student of the High School and companion.
10. Vithal Gopal and,
11. Umaji Shinde.

Nos. 5, 8 and 11 are in addition to those mentioned by Dattatraya and it is quite possible that Dattatraya did not know that they had taken the oath. This peculiarity has been found in all the statements.

I may mention that I have questioned all these men and they naturally deny it. One night, however, Bhoomker admitted to me that he had taken the oath but the next morning when I proceeded to take down his statement he denied it and said it was an oath to be true to Kashinath, but I am convinced that he did take the oath, he it was who accompanied Kashinath to Hyderabad to meet Tikhe, who is well known and a sworn member of Savarker Gang, and in whose possession the Bomb formula was found. Kashinath met him at his brother's house in Hyderabad.

Personally I am of opinion that every one of them did take the oath, and had not Anant precipitated matters, and waited for more combined action, that instead of one murder there would have been more like 20. You can hardly realise the ramifications of these Societies till you go into the whole thing as I have done but as the Nasik Case is *Sub Judice*, I do not feel justified in asking for and quoting the evidence against each man all of whom are associated for the purpose of overthrowing the British Rule,—some are charged for murder, others for conspiracy.

I dare say you saw in the papers the other day that Inspector Alum who was assassinated in the High Court at Calcutta gave it as his opinion that 10,000 such Secret Societies existed all over India.

Whether it is advisable to allow such persons against whom there is reason to believe that they were members of

a Society to remain at large is not for me to decide as of course I may be biassed but I feel bound to say that you cannot treat this as an ordinary case and you should consider this serious matter very carefully when forwarding it with your opinion to His Excellency for His Highness' Commands. I personally am convinced that the oath was administered to these men.

No amount of further enquiry will ever divulge more secrets or produce more evidence against these men, and a careful perusal of Gangaram's statement will show you how carefully these students read and imbibed seditious literature, and how determined they were when the time came.

I am forwarding to you several statements of each man taken before the Police, and before the Magistrate and before me, and you must remember that I took the statements with the object of finding out who had taken the oath whereas the Magistrate of Nasik knew nothing about this, hence asked no questions. The first statement to the Police on the 24th December 1909 of Dattatraya is to my mind the most important and reliable of all, as it was on this that the whole case was unravelled. Each member seems to have made a clean breast of it as soon as he was arrested and implicated his associate or associates. Had Anant committed suicide as he was intended to do, we should still have been in dark and the other members would have been unknown to the Police, and free to work their wicked will.

To lock up the boys as I have suggested to Mr. Fari-doonji in a letter on the subject, and continue their education is in my opinion to do them a good turn in the end, let them forget the past and begin a new life but prompt action is necessary to act as warning to others, and I venture to predict it will put a stop to further activity here.

To make it easy for you I have made notes wherever possible and advisable.

Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) A. C. Hankin."

From the records available, information regarding persons alleged to have been connected with this conspiracy and the action taken by the Government against them is given below:—

In connection with Jackson's murder conspiracy the houses of Sham Rao Malhar Rao Deshmukh, a jagirdar,

(2) Balkrishna Rao clerk in the Revenue Secretariat, (3) Hanmanth Damodar Barve, resident of Chaderghat, (5) Govind Bhasker Barve, (6) Kushan Ali, the resident of Nampalli, (7) Waman Rao, the resident of Gowliguda, (8) Hari Govind Tikhey were watched in the city of Hyderabad. Yadav Rao, Headmaster, Industrial School, Aurangabad was dismissed as a result of the enquiry. He appealed against the sentence, the charge against him could be gleaned from the report of Mr. Haris, Inspector of Arts & Industrial School, given below:—

File No. 72 of 1319 F.

Record Section No. 149.

*Subject:—*Regarding Appeal by B. A. Yadav Rao, Head Drawing Master, Industrial School, Aurangabad.

The file contains papers relating to the appeal of Shri B. A. Yadav Rao, Drawing Master, Industrial School, Aurangabad. In file No. 25 mention has been made of the dismissal of Shri Yadav Rao in connection with the murder of Mr. Jackson, Collector of Nasik. The appeal mentions the fact that Shri B. A. Yadav Rao received the order No. 3 dated 26th January 1910 from the Inspector of Arts and Industrial School in pursuance of Director of Public Instruction's Camp letter No. 15 dated 26-1-1910 to the effect "it is not considered desirable to retain your services any further and I am directed to relieve you of your duties and to give you notice that your services are no longer required by the State." The appeal had been sent by Yadav from Bombay dated 27th June 1910. It is addressed to the Secretary, Judicial, Police and General Departments. The endorsement of the Home Department is to find out from the Director of Public Instruction the reason for the dismissal. The file also contains a D.O. letter No. 15/30/2, dated Shehrewar 1319 F. marked confidential from the Director of Public Instruction to the Secretary to Judicial, Police and General Department. It is in reply to D.O. letter No. 426, dated 3rd Shehrewar 1319 F. addressed by the Secretary, Judicial, Police and General Department. The D.O. states that Shri B. Anantrao Yadav at the time of his dismissal was Head Drawing teacher at the Industrial School, Aurangabad. In the detailed report submitted in connection with Anant Laxman Kanere, the assassin of Mr. Jackson, Collector of Nasik, Mr. Harris, Inspector of Arts and Industrial Schools made the following observations regarding Shri

Anant Laxman Kanere. "The news of the assassination of Mr. Jackson, Collector Nasik, spread in Aurangabad on 20th Behman sometime in the afternoon. The local police went to the Industrial School at 4 O'clock which was closed on account of Bakrid. Mr. Yadav Rao, First Assistant and Head Drawing Teacher was called for in view of the fact that the Superintendent of the School had gone to Bombay during holidays with my permission. The police demanded the register of the School and I am given to understand that Mr. Yadav refused to submit the Register on the ground that he was not formally given the charge of the School and its papers by the Superintendent of the School. When the Inspector of Police insisted on the production of the register he however showed it to him. Shri Yadav Rao knew well that I (Mr. Harris) was camping at Aurangabad on that day. He never informed me of this fact nor did he send a messenger conveying this news. Apparently he believed that he had done his duty. He sent an ordinary telegram to Bombay to the address of the Superintendent of the School. He is now putting a lame excuse to the effect that as his immediate boss was not present on the spot he could not know what to do nor did he feel the necessity to inform me (Mr. Harris) of all these facts. He presumed that I had left Aurangabad during the Christmas holidays." Mr. Harris, further writes: "The behaviour of Mr. Yadav Rao particularly deserved your attention. I would have suspended him but for the fact that the Hyderabad Police or the British Police could make further investigations among the school staff." He further writes "I am aware of the fact that Kasinath, an associate of Kanere, (the assassin) was for a long time with Mr. Yadavrao at his residence and he went away from there only two months ago." Mr. Harris in the course of his report mentions, 'I place the fact that the Police had strong suspicion regarding Sadasivrao, a well-to-do Mahratta at whose place it is alleged music and physical exercise parties were held and recently Mr. Yadav Rao participated in these functions.' It further states, "In the light of these facts it is but inevitable to say that to a great extent not only Yadavrao was aware of these facts but he had great sympathy for them. He was mixing up with the suspects so intimately as if they belonged to one group. On the receipt of information of such a serious news, he could not have delayed the matter even for a minute. But he in the first instance, refused to assist the police and on their insistence somehow produced the Register. He should have

had the knowledge of the presence of Mr. Harris at Aurangabad. In view of the fact that he did not furnish him any information Mr. Harris could not take any steps in the matter. This behaviour of Mr. Yadavrao could not be interpreted merely as an act of indifference or inexperience, in view of the fact that he was not so simple one and experienced as not to understand the implications of this incident. He has thus made an attempt to bring disrepute to the Department of Education. But by the grace of God and the glory of His Highness, he could not succeed in his attempt. His behaviour, therefore, proves the fact that he deserved commensurate punishment and the dismissal order served on him is in my opinion quite appropriate."

The appeal was rejected and Sri Yadav Rao lost his service. Sri Padhye, Superintendent of the Industrial School, Nizamabad, was also dismissed. He appealed for his reinstatement. The Director of Public Instruction to whom a reference was made reiterates: ---

"The petition was submitted to the Government by Shri K. B. Padhye, requesting for his reinstatement and pleading his innocence. The Government demanded a report from the Director of Public Instruction. Through D.O. No. 121-0 dated 1st Amardad 1319 F., the Director of Public Instruction justified his action in dismissing Mr. Padhye. He stated that Messrs. Yadhav Rao, Dharak, Bhogle, Katgare and Kale had been dismissed on the cursory investigation carried out by the Departments of Education and the Police. No action was taken to collect detailed information about these persons. Whatever these Departments gathered investigation became a cause of action. The Director of Public Instruction reiterated that the conduct of Mr. Padhye was doubtful. He was transferred from Aurangabad with the idea to change the environment and make him improve his conduct. But later on, it proved that his strong convictions could not be changed. He dormantly carried out his activities. He was involved in activities most objectionable. In this connection reference is made to the Swadeshi Movement at Aurangabad where a store was opened and the Director in his report says that Mr. Padhye has a dominating part in this activity. He was a staunch friend of Mr. Kale. Mr. Paghe, Deputy Superintendent of Police, British India, Criminal Investigation Department, had informed Mr. Harris, Inspector of the Art and Industrial School, that he was in possession of many more facts regarding Mr. Padhye.

According to him, he was involved in the case of the revolver and the result of the Police investigation proved that Shri Padhye was in the forefront in this crime. The Director further says that, in consultation with Mr. Hankin, he felt that there was no other course open to him than to dismiss Shri Padhye in order to create necessary fear among other members of the staff in the Department of Education.”¹

Mr. Harris reported about Padhye stating that he had a strong suspicion about Mr. Padhye in connection with the Poona Revolver Case. During the time of the meeting held at Aurangabad, he had obtained leave with a view to proceeding to Bombay, but stayed away at Aurangabad till the meeting ended. Mr. Harris recorded that he had completed the proceedings of the case of Mr. Padhye by 16th December 1910 and he casually came to know that Mr. Padhye was at Aurangabad when the meeting was held in the Temple. For detailed information he proposed to get it from the I.G.P. He further stated that Mr. Paghe, Deputy Superintendent, Criminal Investigation Department, Government of India, had informed that he was fully convinced of his rebellious activities. Mr. Paghe was asked to furnish the information on this subject. Mr. Paghe, Superintendent to the Deputy Director of Criminal Intelligence, stated.

“With reference to your memo No. 7363, dated the 28th Ultimo about K. B. Padhye, I have the honour to submit that during my inquiries of Nasik cases of Aurangabad and Hyderabad it has transpired that K. B. Padhye was a staunch Swadeshi, had kept or had supported Swadeshi shops at Hyderabad and also at Nizamabad and that he was supporting students like Hannant Damodar Degaonkar, who had doubtful characters. I made no special inquiries about Padhye, and I did not visit Nizamabad. I do not know Padhye personally. From the enquiries made I think he was a supporter of Swadeshi movement.”

Mr. Padhye's appeal was rejected.

Sri Narhar Trimbak Gharpure, ex-Assistant Commissioner, Survey and Settlement in the Sarf-e-Khas, had taken part in the Swadeshi Movement. This was reported by the Political Secretary to the Home Secretary. The Resident had also informed that he was an extremist with the result that Sri Narhar Trimbak Gharpure was expelled from the State.

1. File No. 75 of 1319 Fashl, Home Secretariat (H.E.H. the Nizam Government).

Balkrishna Hari Ankushkar, a clerk in the Revenue, and Narayan, serving in the Court of Wards, were the brothers of Kashinath Ankushkar involved in 'the murder of Jackson' case. They were dismissed and expelled from the State.

Mr. Sohoni was the Superintendent of the Technical School, Aurangabad. Anant Kanhere was the student of that School. Mr. Sohoni was transferred from Aurangabad to the office of the Director of Public Instruction. The Inspector-General of Police had the following to say about Sohoni:—

“ Confidential

Camp Parbhani, 26th February
1910.

My dear Faridoon,

Re. the correspondence regarding Mr. Sohoni, as I told you verbally, and showed you personally, I prepared a list of suspicious Brahmins in 1899, 11 years ago, of the Aurangabad District. In that list I had the names of Mr. Sohoni and Kale, Inspector of Schools.

On the 7th September 1909 about the time of the first attempt on Mr. Jackson's life I received a Confidential letter from the Assistant to the Deputy Inspector, C. I. D., Punjab, in which he said:

‘ I am desired to forward for your information a copy of a report made by a Sub-Inspector of Police, Rohtak District, regarding the manufacture and export of arms in Hyderabad.’

The report runs as follows: ‘ Sub-Inspector 2nd grade Bahadurgarah, P.S., Rohtak District, reported to me today that he has “learnt through a reliable source that a party of men residing ” in Hyderabad State Deccan some of whom are in the employ of the “ States Government are manufacturing arms, and exporting them into British Territory, i.e., Poona and another district ” (‘the name of which he could not give me but would do so later.’)

“(1)

“(2) Dr. Kibye Mahratha Hindu, Private Practitioner, Aurangabad City.”

'Note:—On enquiries made by me I traced one gun sold by this man to a Mussalman for Rs. 100—
A. C. Hankin.'

- (3) Gopal Krishna, Assistant Conservator of Forests,
- (4) Mr. Kale, M.A., Mahratha Hindu, Inspector of Schools, Aurangabad Division.
- (5) Mr. Sohoni Maratha, Hindu Headmaster, Technical School, Aurangabad.
- (6)
- (7)
- (8)
- (9)''

I had enquiries made but so far have failed to trace any other arms. We have Dr. Siraj-ul-Hasan's statement to you against Sohoni's honesty. In fact he had to go to Bombay to make enquiries. Nawab Nizamath Jung can vouch for the State of the Orphanage Accounts in this man's time. I give you that for such action as you deem fit.

I have already told you that I reported the extraordinary conduct of the Nasik Police in not searching Sohoni's house and all of a sudden abandoning the idea. Had the search taken place I personally am convinced that much damaging evidence would have been forthcoming. I am having further enquiries made.

I would suggest your sending for Mr. Habib-ud-din, privately and asking him his opinion of Mr. Sohoni's accounts.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) A. C. Hankin.¹

After his transfer to the Director of Public Instruction's Office, Mr. Sohoni was removed from service.

About Mr. Mokashi who ran a Physical Gymnasium in Aurangabad the following is from Mr. Harris, Inspector of the Art and Industrial School, Aurangabad's report:—

"There is an Aurangabad a man called *Mokashi*, I regret that I did not note his other and probably full name.

¹ File No. 36 of 1819 Fasli, Home Secretariat (H.E.H. The Nizam's Government).

There are many strange reports current about him and he is doubtless being watched by the Police.

It is certain that a number of scholars in the Industrial School and High School have been attending this man's so-called athletic courses. The Superintendent, Industrial School, has done his utmost to discontinue the attendance of his pupils at these classes. At present only three or four senior Industrial School boys visit this man for instruction.

There is no doubt that he and his assistants teach wrestling, lathi, Indian club drill and some system of holding the breath (said to be an infallible preventive from hanging). The teaching is due to singing often a song embodying Tilak's last words in the Bombay High Court, and called "Sree Mitra Mala" being apparently a great favourite. It is embodied in a little pamphlet, "Sree Mitra Samaj" of which I am trying to secure a copy. It was, till recently, available in the bazaars here. This man called his room the "National Athletic School" or "Rashtriya Mulla Sabha." Its name was altered last year to "Datta Mulla Shala" (God of strength's school). Mokashi lived for some little time in the Ram Mandir, and then rented a place in Johri Para. He is a resident of Khomgaum Oomaroti, and was at one time a Government servant there. Religious teaching is given, and lectures upon political matters, and the past and hoped-for future of the Mahratti race are, it is said, often delivered. Great stress seems to be laid upon the Shivajee Cult and the example of Shivajee is held up to all as the great goal for imitation. I am of opinion that this place should be closed and Mokashi (who by the way does not appear to have the physique of an athlete, and who sets up to be a Brahmachari) should be deported or called on to leave the Dominions forthwith.

It has been whispered that a considerable number of persons, including one or two teachers in Schools were, late on the night of the murder, in one of the temples, taking part for several hours in a special ceremony, although the day does not seem to be one for particular and prolonged pujas.

There is also rumour of branches of certain Nasik Associations which are in special force at Tuljapur near Osmanabad and it is said that Nasik, Sholapur and Poona Brahmins

have been frequently of late holding meetings and delivering lectures, etc., in the temple there.”¹

The report submitted by Dr. Syed Siraj-ul-Hasan, the Director of Public Instruction, is based on the report of Mr. Harris:—

“ There is an Urdu report as well forwarded by Dr. Syed Siraj-ul-Hasan, Director of Public Instruction. The Report is based on the information given by Mr. Harris in the Confidential note cited above. The Director mentions in his report that he received great assistance from the reports sent by the Police and the action taken against the employees of his Department was mainly based on the report sent by the Police. He ordered the Inspector of the Art and Industrial School to remove from service Yadav Rao, Head Drawing Teacher, Industrial and Technical School, Aurangabad, and Barve, Superintendent, Industrial School, Nizamabad, and Dattatray, Servant, Industrial School, Nizamabad. On the same day the Director sent a letter to the Divisional Inspector of Schools, Aurangabad, saying that Shri Bhogle, Teacher, Bhir, and Shri Khadware, First Assistant, Bhir School, be dismissed forthwith and the statements for gratuity or pension, as the case may be, for which they were entitled, be forwarded. On the same day he addressed a letter to the Divisional Inspector of Schools, Gulbarga Division ordering the dismissal of K. G. Kale, B.A., Headmaster, Middle School, Raichur, and asking for his pension statements. These were the persons about whose conduct the Police had reason to doubt. In addition to the removal of these persons, the Director refers to the fact that, as a measure of policy, certain other persons were removed from Aurangabad although there was no Police report against them. For example, Shri Sohoni, Superintendent, Industrial School, Aurangabad, was removed from this place. The Director of Public Instruction says that the behaviour of Shri Sohoni although was above suspicion, he thought it advisable to remove him from that place. The report also refers to the fact that Mr. Harris, Inspector of the Art and Industrial School and the Divisional Inspector of Schools, Aurangabad, had been asked to furnish a list of such persons studying at various Schools at Aurangabad, who were suspected of having doubtful character. The report mentions

¹ File No. 41 of 1319 Fasli, Home Secretariat (Government of Hyderabad).

that, according to the view of the Director of Public Instruction, the boys studying in the schools could be divided into two categories: Those who were not the subjects of his Highness, their ancestors have nothing to do with Hyderabad. In his opinion such boys were to be relegated from the schools, immediately on the slightest doubt arising as to their conduct and they were also to be sent out of the Dominions immediately, failing which they would prove more harmful than when they were studying at the schools.

The second category consisted of the students, whose ancestors and forefathers belonged to the Hyderabad State. The Director took pride in the fact that till now none of the subjects of His Highness indulged in rebellious activities. Such ideas were common among the British subjects. It was, therefore, not proper to form immediately any adverse opinion about the original subjects of the Hyderabad State. May be some persons residing on the borders might be found wanting in the sense of loyalty. It was, therefore, not proper to remove such boys from the schools. Their removal from the Government schools would result in their admission into the private institutions which were not under the control of the Government. They would deteriorate further. They may be kept in Aurangabad, if they were the students of the Industrial School at Aurangabad and an opportunity might be given for improvement under able teachers of *bona fide* conduct. If the students pertain to the schools other than the Industrial School, they could be shifted to the Schools in the same taluk and a separate Boarding House be opened, particularly for such students in order to improve their conduct.”¹

As a result the Nizam issued the following Firman in February, 1910, as follows:—

“The opinion expressed by you, through Arzdasht, dated 24th Moharrum 1328 H., regarding taking into custody or expelling the ill-wishers of the Governments or the rebels of the Governments and the method of taking the evidence from the informants, is approved.

The result of such a course will be that any person would be deprived of his freedom without giving him an opportunity for defence. It is, therefore, necessary; as far as possible, caution is exercised so that no innocent person is pun-

¹ File No. 41 of 1819 Fash, Home Secretariat (Government of Hyderabad).

ished on hearsay evidence. When people know that persons accused of sedition would be punished without judicial enquiry, they would try to get their opponents arrested by giving false information. It is, therefore, necessary that adequate care is taken in examining the secret information supplied. It will be difficult to punish a person on the basis of oral or unaffirmed evidence. It should not be deemed that on cursory report any person would be expelled or he would be kept under custody."

Vinayak Govind Tikhe was also expelled from the State. The following letter which bears on the subject was sent by Nawab Faridoon Jung to Major A. B. Minchin of the Residency:—

"Kindly refer to your letter No. 830 of the 14th of October 1912 to the address of the Nawab Faridoon Jung Bahadur, explaining why it has been decided to expel Vinayak Govind Tikhe from the Residency Bazars, and requesting that the orders of His Highness the Nizam may be obtained for Tikhe's deportation from these Dominions.

The matter was duly submitted to His Highness who has been pleased to direct that the same procedure should be adopted in this case, as was followed on the occasion of the deportation of Mr. Datto Pant Tuljapurkar, B.A., L.L.B., in 1908.

On receipt of an intimation from you to the effect that Vinayak Govind Tikhe has been expelled from the Residency Bazars I shall at once issue the necessary orders prohibiting his residing anywhere within His Highness' Dominions.

The letter addressed by Major A. B. Minchin to Nawab Faridoon Jung reads as follows:—

"I am desired to address you regarding one Vinayak Govind Tikhe, who was arrested and sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment for complicity in the Nasik conspiracy case.

2. Mr. Jackson was murdered on the evening of the 21st December 1909. Amongst others arrested in this connection was one Kashinath Ankushkar, who stated that one Vinayak Govind Tikhe had in his possession a formula for making bombs and that this formula was kept between the leaves of a book of poems by Ram Das, which book in its turn was under lock and key. The house of the suspect was in troop Bazar near the bank of Bengal and belonged to

Raja Bhagwan Das, who also owns a house in the Hyderabad City (Karawan Sahu), where Vinayak Govind Tikhe with his brother Hari Govind Tikhe had previously been living, the family having only recently settled in the Residency Bazars. The house was searched with the usual formalities, and the bomb formula and the book of poems found exactly as described in the information received.

3. The following were also found in the Residency Bazars:—

- (i) A leaflet containing poems about (ii) Receipt for Rs. 10 from the Bank Vinayak Govind Tikhe, on the back of which in Balbodh Mahratti, binding the person taking himself to the cause of his country's independence, bearing the signature of Ganesh Damodar Savarkar of Nasik in Mahratti, and of Vinayak Govind Tikhe in English; and (iii) a letter written by Kashinath to Vinayak Govind Tikhe in symbolical language which was believed to refer to the purchase of arms and a dacoity planned by 9 persons in Aurangabad.

4. V. G. Tikhe was arrested at Devalgaon where 2 swords and a pistol were found, and also several books and papers, on the back of one of which was a prescription apparently for making bombs. A further search of the houses of Vinayak Govind Tikhe and Ambadas, his brother-in-law, led to the discovery, among other things, of two books showing how explosive can be made, and redlead $67\frac{1}{2}$ tolas, a cocoanut shell, sulphur $6\frac{1}{2}$ tolas, brass shavings 23 tolas and one metallic stone.

5. The man was arrested under Act VI of 1908, since in the preparation of bombs the filings of any metal, preferably brass, form an essential feature. The accused's explanation that they were intended to be melted down to make idols and that the cocoanut was for snuff was considered unsatisfactory. The possession of the ingredients, together with the fact that he had a formula and also literature on the subject, formed very strong evidence that he was studying and experimenting in the manufacture of bombs. Further it was admitted that Vinayak Govind Tikhe gave a Mahratti translation of the bomb formula to Kashinath when the latter visited Hyderabad. He also asked Kashinath to let him know the result of the dacoity, expressing

his desire to help as far as possible. The evidence was sufficient to justify his being charged under Act VI of 1908, and.....afforded strong proof that this connection with the..... was more than nominal and that his case also..... 124-A of the Indian Penal Code Vinayak Govind Tikhe was sent up with thein the Nasik Conspiracy Case, and was sentenced years' imprisonment. He has been recently released from Jail and is now at Hyderabad, where he is staying with his brother Hari Govind Tikhe in Raja Bhagwan Das's bungalow in the Residency Bazars, where a number of medical students also reside. This man's association with the students is likely to be productive of harm, and it has been decided to expel him from the Residency Bazars.

7. It is understood that Vinayak Govind Tikhe is not a Hyderabad subject, and the Resident is sure that His Highness's Government will agree that it is not desirable that a person with such a record should reside in the State. The Resident will be glad therefore if you will kindly obtain the Nizam's orders for the man's deportation from His Highness's Dominion."

An Arzdasht was submitted to His Highness for the expulsion of Vinayak Govind Tikhe and the Firman was issued, stating that the procedure adopted in the case of the expulsion of Datto Pant Tuljapurkar would be adopted on the receipt of the information regarding the expulsion of Shri Vinayak Govind Tikhe from the Residency area. The Residency accordingly informed the Government of Hyderabad stating that the formal orders would be issued on the 14th November 1912 for the expulsion of Vinayak Govind Tikhe from the Residency Bazars. On receipt of this information, the Political Secretary to the Nizam's Government addressed a letter to the Secretary to Government, Judicial and Police Departments on 13th November 1912, asking him to issue necessary orders in the matter to the City and the District Police, prohibiting the stay of Shri Vinayak Govind Tikhe anywhere in His Highness's Dominions, on his expulsion from the Residency Bazars.

As a result of Jackson's murder a strict watch was kept on the educational institutions like the Nutan Vidyalaya in Gulbarga and the Middle School in Osmanabad. The following is from the report on these two schools submitted in 1910 to the Education Department.

"The report on the Nutan Vidyalaya contains points of some important information. It says "the School has a Committee of Management under the guidance of several Hindu gentlemen, the principal supporters of which are local Brahmin Pleaders. The chief among them, is one Mr. Vithal Rao, who had the co-operation of one Mr. Keshav Rao, one of the Vakils of Hyderabad, along with that of Messrs. Gopal Rao and Giri Rao."

It should be remembered that Mr. Keshav Rao named above once got into troubles with the Residency here, which had addressed to His Highness's Government for his deportation, owing to the active part he took in connection with the subscriptions collected for the Tilak Defence Fund.

Outwardly the Management has not given an atom of suspicion to the public to think that they were under the political need of opening the School purely for the education of Marathi boys, but one may be led to infer this from the fact that the School came into existence immediately after Mr. B. G. Tilak was convicted and sentenced by the High Court, Bombay, for his seditious writings in his paper *Kesari*. It is also left to be considered what motives have guided the Management to open the School of their own in the heart of Brahmapur where there is a Government School in the vicinity of a distance of a mile from the School. It is noteworthy that the principal members of the Management of the School are Marathi Brahmins, who, I heard, are of Tilak sympathisers and might have been carried away by the spirit of bitter antagonism to adopt a definite attitude towards the Imperial Government in favour of their co-religionists and start their own School. But it is very difficult for any visitor to form an opinion for the simple reason that the Members in charge of the Institution are men of tact, skill and wisdom and are capable of challenging any one who may suspect their motives.

The report on Government Middle School, Osmanabad, also contains some hints of political life of Osmanabad. It says that besides Government Schools, there are four private schools for Hindus and one for Mahammadans, with a total strength of, roughly speaking, 300. Apart from these, the Postmaster, Imperial Post Office, Osmanabad, has, under his tuition, a batch of 10 or 12 Hindu boys. This, I think, is against the Postal Rules, which deserves some action by the Postmaster-General, Bombay. While the matters

stood in that way, I heard that there is in contemplation a movement under the guidance of some Hindu citizens of the town, the chief among whom was one Mr. Wal Chand, a Gujrathi worth Rs. 3 to 4 lakhs. He opened an English School for Hindu and Muhammadan boys on the same lines as are adopted by the members of the Nutan Vidyashala at Gulbarga. If his attempt to open it has been defeated, it was due to the Mohammadians, both officials and non-officials, who have declined to co-operate with him in his movement. Further, this has deterred him from what he intended to do. He has secured a Hindu teacher from Bombay, a Matriculate, on Rs. 80 a month and has made a beginning by opening a small school of 10 to 12 boys.

The reason for the existence of so many private Schools in Osmanabad, is, I was made to believe, that the Hindus did not like the curriculum and they wanted reading, writing and a little arithmetic to suit their requirements in Bazar accounts while the Muhammadans complained that there is no Quaran-Shariff reading in the Government Schools. In order to suit the requirements of Mohammadans the present Headmaster, Mr. Nawabuddin has introduced into our Schools a very slight change in the curriculum by addingto the studies in the Middle Schools. Regarding the seditious activities indulged in both by the teachers and the pupils, the recent events at Aurangabad and Tuljapur have a good deal to say what has occurred at Aurangabad has travelled to Osmanabad and what has been done by the District Superintendent of Police at Tuljapur in connection with the objectionable newspapers, which he had secured from the Headmaster of Tuljapur Government Middle School, must have created sufficient and terrible fear in the minds of the Hindu teachers and pupils. That some of the Hindu teachers might have sympathised with the sedition-mongers is quite possible, but there is not tangible proof at the present stage to substantiate this charge. All that one should do is to closely watch their actions and associations and at the same time taking particular care to give no room to the informants for suspicion to hide any information”¹

Sri K. G. Kale, Headmaster, Middle School, Raichur, was dismissed in January 1910. This is what the Director

of Public Instruction and the Home Department of Hyderabad had to say about Mr. Kale's activities in 1910. The Director of Public Instruction's report discusses¹:—

“ The conduct of Shri K. G. Kale and admits that Yadav Rao, Pathe, Dharab Bhogle, Katgare and Kale were dismissed on summary departmental enquiry and the reports received from the Police. Details were not pursued nor was it necessary in the circumstances. At Aurangabad, many students absented from the school to express their grief on the arrest of Mr. Tilak. Subsequently, pamphlets were distributed at Aurangabad for totally giving up the use of foreign goods. The Police in fact arrested a few boys. In all these activities, Mr. Kale did not behave as he was expected to. In Tilak's case, Mr. Kale played the role of a witness at the court. The deposition given by him points out that he was not sincere in his role. During the course of two years, the I.G.P. had received numerous reports declaring Mr. Kale as a man of suspicious conduct. Mr. Kale had taught rebellious poem to one of his students, the subject-matter of which was so bad that it could produce an adverse effect on the loyalty of the subjects. The Home Secretariat note quotes that poem which was recited by Gangaram Marwadi during the course of his deposition in the Nasik case. Following are the lines:—

“ To every man upon the earth,
To every man upon the earth,
Death cometh soon or late,
Then how can man die better
Than facing fearful odds
For the ashes of his fathers
And the temples of his Gods.

The Home Department stated that such a man could not be retained as a Headmaster. The D. O. of the Director of Public Instruction further says that Mr. Kale always associated himself with the men of his community whose conduct was doubtful. He was a great friend of Mr. Pathe, who had been dismissed from his post as the Superintendent of the Industrial School, Nizamabad. Some of the students who were of suspicious conduct were his great friends and the Police had this information to the effect for a long time. He participated in the Swadeshi propaganda. He financially aided some of the Swadeshi stores. The brother of Dharab

1 File No. 77 of 1819 Fasli, Home Secretariat (Government of Hyderabad).

was involved in the Nasik case. He was staying with Mr. Dharab at Nizamabad before this incident of Nasik. On the disbandment of the Industrial School at Hyderabad Kashinath Ankushrao Hare, the accomplice in the Nasik case, along with other boys, came to Aurangabad. Kashinath Ankushrao Hare's deposition regarding Mr. Prabhaker G. Bhogle, the copy of which was sent to the Secretary, Judicial, Police and General Departments by Mr. Hankin, revealed that he had taken an oath of revolt. Having taken account of all these facts and with the concurrence of Mr. Hankin, Mr. Kale was dismissed along with other teachers of the department. This punishment was meted out to them in order to prevent further spread of rebellious ideas and also to provide a lesson to those who are still beginners and to avoid such activities. On this D. O. the Home Department held that it was not advisable to go against the decision of the Director of Public Instruction. In view of the facts stated by him and on the analogy of other persons involved in this case, Mr. Kale could be given three months' salary along with gratuity or pension to which he might be entitled. It was agreed to by the Government."

These were the repercussions of Jackson's murder conspiracy in the State of Hyderabad. The action taken by the Government against a number of employees and institutions clearly reveals the extent of the Swadeshi agitation in Hyderabad following the sentence on Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

CHAPTER XIII

THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT AND ITS EFFECTS IN THE SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL FIELDS

In August 1911, the Nizam Mahboob Ali Khan died and was succeeded by Mir Osman Ali Khan. Soon after, the Prime Minister Maharaja Sir Kishan Pershad Bahadur was replaced by Salar Jung III who worked for 2 years until his resignation in 1914. The Swadeshi Movement continued attracting widespread sympathy in the State. It took various forms, such as lectures, processions, Bhajan Mandalis, associations, publication of literature eulogizing the heroes of the national movement, the printing of pictures on various articles of daily use like dhoties, match-boxes, lockets and buttons.

The rise and growth of the Swadeshi spirit can be gauged from a report of the District Superintendent of Police, Parbhani, submitted to the Government in this period which says, "for the last one and a half years the national spirit was increasing amongst the Hindus and Brahmins. They are devoted to Swadeshi movement. In spite of the fear of the Police the spirit manifested itself now and then. Businessmen collected funds in some name or other and levied what may be termed an unofficial, voluntary tax on their business turn-out which was used for national causes. These businessmen came under the influence of businessmen of Bombay and Poona. This consciousness amongst the businessmen of Parbhani was created by Pandurang Sastry".

Following the visit of the propagandists and wide circulation of nationalist newspapers, consciousness amongst the educated classes seems to have reached a stage where its expression could no more be held under check. Since it was not possible under the existing circumstances for the educated classes to organise political bodies or associations with pronounced political leadings, they started organizing libraries, social bodies and Bhajan Mandalies. In Mahboobnagar, a Bhajan Mandali was started where weekly Bhajans used to be held. Quite a good number of government employees were members of this Bhajan Mandali. It was said that the members of the Bhajan Mandali preached Swadeshim and the Government therefore took action against the Bhajan Mandali which was soon closed down,

In 1914 the First World War broke out. It had a profound effect in the country.

The following two letters are typical of the action which the Government was taking against the institutions and individuals about whom there was suspicion of taking part in the Swadeshi Movement:—

(1)

(Copy of circular from the Office of the Political Secretary to Government and Private Secretary to Maharaja Peshkar, Madarulmaham of Nizam's Government, dated 20th November 1910, i.e., 16th Dai 1320 F. By order of Maharaja Bahadur, Yameen-us-Saltanat, Madurul Maham.)

" Secret

Nawab Fareedun Jung Bahadur, C.I.E.,

From

Political and Private Secretary.

To

All the Secretaries to Government,

All the Subedars,

All the Taluqdars.

Soon after the starting of political movement in British India and the trend of the people to revolt against the British Government, the Nizam's Government have issued different orders at different times to the heads of Departments requesting therein to watch over the strangers and to expel the mischief-makers silently from the State. It was also requested to get acquainted with the activities of teachers and students, organizations, clubs, libraries, and secret societies, and also to continue the common relations between the Hindus and the Muslims of the State. Only two Taluqdars of Aurangabad and Parbhani have complied with these orders but the rest have not yet forwarded their reports. It appears that the officers have not paid any due attention in this regard. As the orders were issued to different officers at different times, it is likely that the other officers of the State have not been informed of the same. As such, a general circular addressed to all the heads of departments is being issued for necessary compliance. The Prime Minister (Madarul Maham) has therefore passed the following orders after competent sanction of the Nizam:—

(1) Care should be taken to prevent revolutionary

ideas from prevailing in the Districts and Taluqs. Wherever the mischief-makers are found they may be checked by the First Taluqdars, who are especially entrusted with this work. The other subordinate officers deputed either in divisions or in taluks have no exemption from the above responsibility. So all the officers at headquarters and on tour should help their Chief Officers of the districts in their work. The local officers should be in contact with the public and get acquainted with their ideas. If any excitement or misunderstanding is found between the Hindus and the Muslim, the officers should go personally to them and settle the matter forthwith. The Officers should always do their best to continue the friendship between the two communities. No differences should take root in them and disturb the peace and order of the place.

(2) The local officers should specially see that no mischievous persons may get a footing to create the spirit of unrest in the country. The clubs, libraries, public schools, religious meetings, etc., should be well guarded for this purpose. They should also see as to how the collection of money made for the protection of cows, Mushti Fund, Ganesh Utsav, Dharam Fund, etc. (not existing before but started from last year) is being utilized by the people. The persons collecting money in the above form should always be supervised by the officers.

(3) Every officer should do his best to incline the people of his jurisdiction, both Hindus and Muslims, for the goodwill of the British and the Nizam's Government. If any mischief or rebellious action is found anywhere, it may rightly be corrected and the case reported to the superior officer.

(4) The judicial officers should also keep in view the above orders and comply accordingly under their jurisdiction. Moreover, the behaviour of the pleaders should be observed in general. It is necessary because they are educated and regarded with respect by the public for their profession. The people generally keep contact with pleaders in their legal requirements. The pleaders are more or less having progressive ideas. So it is possible that the people being impressed with the ideas of these pleaders may prevail upon the common public to adopt them. So it is necessary that any pleader who may be found to keep revolutionary ideas should be warned immediately. If he does

not mend himself it may be reported to the higher authorities before taking any legal action against him. The Talukdars may also be kept informed of such cases every now and then.

(5) It is essential for the head of the Educational Department to supervise the teachers through his subordinate officers, so that they may be free from seditious thoughts. Even if a teacher is found to possess such ideas they may not be allowed to prevail upon the students (who are ready to accept everything from their teacher without realising the good and bad effects), to imbibe such ideas. As such, the officers of the Education Department, i.e., from the Director of Public Instruction to the Inspector of Schools should always make tours for inspection. During their tour if any teacher is suspected to possess such ideas they should punish him after making necessary inquiry. They should also supervise the private schools of the State and see that the education given to students therein is not against the rules. The character and behaviour of the teachers working in them should also be judged.

(6) The main responsibility of the Police is to maintain peace and order in the country. In view of the present circumstances the Police should be careful and prompt in the discharge of duty. They should be watchful over the actions of mischievous persons. The various funds collected recently for the protection of cows, Mushti Fund and Dharam Fund, etc., and utilized freely by the people should also be controlled by the Police. If such funds are found to be utilized for some other purpose it may be reported to the authorities. The Police should keep an eye over the newcomers including Sadhus and religious men who enter into the State and propagate mischievous ideas among the people. Such cases should be reported to the head office immediately.

The above mentioned points will give good results only when they are considered unanimously in action by all the officers of the Revenue, Judicial and Police Departments. These officers, whether at the headquarters or on tour, should allow the public to approach them in their needs. They should behave politely with the public and discharge their duties by winning their hearts. By adopting the above methods the ruler and the ruled will be united with the bonds of love and friendship. It will help to furnish information regarding every part of the State and the ideas

of the people. This thing is quite essential in carrying on the administration of the State on a sound basis.

All the officers are therefore instructed to dispose of such cases confidentially without giving any publicity to them. The Prime Minister (Madarul Maham) is hopeful that all the officers will discharge their duties promptly with united efforts. As a consequence of this the mischievous persons will not get any footing and the State will be free from their mischief.

(Sd.) Political and Private
Secretary to the
Nizam's Government."¹

" From

Nawab Faramoz Jung Bahadur,
Subedar of Suba Gulshanabad, Medak.

To

The Secretary to Government,
Home Department (Adalat, Police & Ecclesiastical
Branch).

Subject: Confiscation of property belonging to the
temple of Mahboobnagar.

My place of halt along with the First Taluqdar of Mahboobnagar district on 13th Khurdad 1320 F. was at Vanaparthi. The acting First Taluqdar presented me your letter No. 825 of 11th Khurdad 1320 F. A detailed report regarding the conditions as I saw at Mahboobnagar, and in view of the secret letters regarding the sedition received from the Office of my Political and Private Secretary, has already been forwarded to the Political and Private Secretary. A copy of the same is also sent to you for necessary action. From a perusal of this report it will be evident that the "Bhajan-koot" has been originated and started by the Brahmins of Poona and Mysore.

The people of our country were not accustomed to the Bhajan centres, etc., since a long time. The persons responsible to incline the public towards this system are Mr. Krishnajeel Ganesh, Assistant Director of Forest Department,

1. File No. 86 of 1820 Faali, Home Secretariat (H.E.H. The Nizam's Government).

Mr. Sarma, cultivator of Pargi residing in Mysore, Mr. Chinna Kishtiah, Pleader and Mr. Sheshgir Rao, contractor of Excise Department, etc. A list of these persons has been attached to my report in English.

I am confident to say, after making enquiries about the conditions of this place, that this system has been started only to sow the seed of sedition into the nature of the people of this country. The local officers have not so far paid any particular attention in this matter. They did not take the trouble of going and inspecting the place. An outward appearance shows that a Bhajan Centre has been started in a *malgi* in the bazar, without permission and against the Government orders. It is a fact that every community among the Hindus worship a particular God according to their belief either in temples or in homes by keeping an idol. Hence the Bhajan Centre and the place of worship opened in a *malgi* of the bazar is not only against the Government orders, it is a creation of a new thing as well. So, in accordance with your Departments's resolution No. 8/4/misc/1818 F., dated 23rd Isfandar 1319 F., I being an officer of the Ecclesiastical Department of the Suba, have closed the Bhajan Centre and the place of worship through the Tahsildar, till the receipt of final orders of the Government. Department of the Subba, have closed the Bhajan Centre and the place of worship through the Tahsildar, till the receipt of final orders of the Government.

As per circular No. 46 of 1311 F. issued from the Revenue Secretariat a new place of worship cannot be started without permission of the Government. Accordingly, this place of worship in Mahboobnagar is a new one for which no sanction of the Government has so far been obtained. No Talukdar has paid any attention so far to observe the above circular. There seems a special reason for this that they wanted to favour Mr. Krishnajeel Ganesh, Assistant Director of Forest, Mr. Jaganmohan Lal, Assistant Director of Revenue Department, was for some time the president of this Committee.

In the resolution No. 8/4, dated 23rd Isfandar 1319 F. the Nizam has issued a Firman which reads as follows:—

“If a person or a community performs a new religious function publicly, at a place, which has not been done so far anywhere in the Nizam's Dominions and causes annoyance to the other community, it may be stopped by the Officers of the Ecclesiastical Department, to maintain peace

and order, till competent sanction of Government is obtained from the Home Department."

It is 38 years since the village of Mahboobnagar was populated. Such new Centre of worship and Bhajan was never opened by the people of Mahboobnagar from the beginning of its population since the last 36½ years. It is only for the last 1½ years that this Centre of worship has been founded against the Government Circular due to the incitement of Mr. Krishnajeel Ganesh, Assistant Director of Forest Department, Mr. Sharma, cultivator of Pargi Taluk, Mr. Chinna Kishtiah, Pleader, and Mr. Sheshgir Rao, Contractor, etc. I have given the details of their names in my report in English. The people of Mahboobnagar who were not hitherto acquainted with such functions are now the second party in this case against the Nizam and the British Government. Mr. Krishnajeel Ganesh, Assistant Director of the Forest Department is that person in whose house the Bhajan function was started for the first time. The photos of Tilak, etc., were also found in his house. It may be verified with the secret letter issued by the then first talukdar, Mohiuddin Ali Khan, to your Department under No. 13, dated 5th Ferwardi 1318 F. in spite of the existence of Bhajan—coot, worshipping centre, and the photos of Tilak, etc., the First Talukdar has praised Mr. Krishnajeel Ganesh and reported about him as a good man. I don't agree to this as I regard it to be useless. The First Talukdar has not given you a detailed report regarding the Bhajan centre and the centre of worship, but has concealed it for which he is responsible. In my opinion he should certainly be addressed for the same.

In the resolution the Nizam has ordered that "there should be no religious house of any community at any place in the Dominions without obtaining permission as per the rules."

It is further added that "if any such case will be put up I shall take serious action against the responsible officers, without hearing any excuse from them".

Keeping in view the above final orders I have informed the Government the detailed conditions and situation of the place.

All the officers as per my report, who acted against the Firman, took part in the function, and concealed the events

should be held responsible. Considering the situation of the place and my responsibilities in the capacity of Subedar I am of opinion that as a precautionary measure no permission should be given for this Bhajan Centre and the Centre of Worship.

All the telegrams and applications were given by the public through Nawab Fareedun Jung Bahadur and other officers to the Central Departments side Mr. Krishnajeel Ganesh, Assistant Director of the Forest Department, Mr. Chinna Kishtiah, Vakil, and Mr. Seshgir Rao, Contractor. These persons have adopted this procedure for their own safeguard.

I being the Chief Officer of the Ecclesiastical Department of the Suba, shall frame a case as per rules against those ring-leaders who have converted a malgi of a bazar into a new Centre Worship without permission and against the Firman and the Revenue Secretariat Circular No. 46 of 1311 F., and shall give decision according to the above circular.

A copy of the petition submitted to me by the people of Mahboobnagar together with a copy of the intimation served on them is sent herewith for your perusal.

Copy forwarded in continuation of the English report No. 732, dated 3-4-1911 to:—

1. The Political and Private Secretary to Government.
2. The Secretary to Government, Revenue Department.
3. Mr. A. C. Hanken, Director-General of District Police.

(Sd.) Subedar,
Gulshanabad".

Similarly, another organization was started in the City of Hyderabad called "Fard Afroze" which openly undertook to open a swadeshi cloth shop and a sweetmeat shop and issued pamphlets appealing to the people to use only Swadeshi articles. This association worked for seven years and

had to be closed down after the murder of Jackson at Nasik. Libraries were also started in this period at Parbhani and other places of Maharashtra, where *Kesari* and other nationalist papers used to come. These libraries were invariably opened at places where there was a British Post Office, so that the papers from British India could be secured without attracting the attention of the local authorities. All the same, the local authorities did come to know of these activities and took action against the organisers. Simultaneously with this, the educated people held meetings surreptitiously and discussed the Swadeshi movement. At Narayanpet in the Mahboobnagar district, at Khuldabad, and at Aurangabad such meetings were held, lectures were given and decisions were taken. These meetings were invariably organized by one or the other of Government servants and in private residences. The Government on knowing of this invariably, transferred the concerned employees to various places.

The Swadeshi movement seems to have become very popular in the State inasmuch as articles with pictures of Tilak, Bipinchandrapal or other leaders, or articles with the legends "Wandemataram" and "use Swadeshi goods" printed on them were freely and profusely imported into the market and put on sale. Dhooties, match-boxes, lockets, buttons and various other articles were sold and purchased in Hyderabad and other parts of the State. This placed the Government in an awkward position; while it could not by an order put a stop to the import of these articles, it did not want them to be put on sale. It could officially do nothing about them because the firms manufacturing these articles located in British India and the Indian Government did not think it fit to prohibit the manufacture of such articles. The Government, therefore, issued orders to the Commissioner of Police, City of Hyderabad, to give oral warning to such merchants and consumers. In spite of such warnings, articles of the type mentioned above continued to be imported and put on sale.

Simultaneously with this, books dealing with nationalist aspirations and the Swadeshi movement were also imported and widely read by the people of Hyderabad. "Life of Tilak," "Trial of Tilak" and books of this nature were brought into the State and circulated. The Government took a sterner action and proscribed them. The available list of proscribed books and pamphlets names at least 40

books and pamphlets prescribed by the Government. Even so newspapers and magazines were also proscribed. In spite of these orders, books and newspapers were brought into the State surreptitiously.

Following the murder of Jackson and the series of investigations and searches, the Government took action against half a dozen Government employees who were either suspended or altogether dismissed from service. It made the Government hyper-sensitive to any reference to Swadeshism. Watch was kept on persons who had photos of Tilak or other leaders in their houses. The over-sensitiveness of the Government went to the extent of keeping watch over a lady named Tulsamma who happened to sing a song of Swadeshism on the occasion of Nagapanchami.

This attitude of the Government created fear in the minds of the people who naturally and at least for purposes of appearance dissociated themselves from everything that had anything to do with Swadeshism.

Quite naturally, the Government also became apprehensive of the arrival of people from British India, who, when in Hyderabad, were harassed by the Police and watch was kept over them especially when they happened to be Bengalis or Maharastrians. In this connection, the Nizam issued Firmans to keep watch over the people coming from British India into the State and if they indulged in suspicious activities, to send them away quietly from the State.

Even a man of the status of the Principal of City College, Calcutta, was inordinately harassed by the Police and watch was kept over him all through his sojourn in the City of Hyderabad.

With the declaration of war in Europe in 1914, the conditions changed in Hyderabad and the spirit of Swadeshism appears to have taken the shape of revelling over the early defeats of the British at the hands of the Germans. The Government took stern action against all those who made anti-British Propaganda in this period.

The Balkan War in 1912 raised the feelings of the people in India, especially the Muslim Community. In Hyderabad Mulla Abdul Basith, son of Mulla Abdul

Qayum, took a leading part in forming "the Red Crescent Society". His associates were Mohamed Murtuza, the founder of the Hyderabad Educational Conference, Mr. Akbar Ali, the editor of the journal *Sahifa*, Mr. Mohamed Mazhar, Mr. Abdus Salam, Mr. Abdul Munim and Mr. Riazuddin Hasan Kaifi. Sympathy with the Turks became widespread throughout the country. Moulana Azad's paper *Al-Hilal* was also read with great interest in Hyderabad. The Red Crescent Society held a number of meetings in Hyderabad. Among the notable persons was Sufi Abdul Khadir. These meetings were held in mosques and in the compounds of the houses of Mulla Abdul Basith, Mohamed Hussain Attaullah and Fiaz Ali. The Red Crescent Society raised subscriptions amounting to more than a lakh of rupees and sent the amount to the Prime Minister of Turkey. Similar subscriptions were also raised for the Medical Mission to Turkey led by Dr. Ansari and remitted to the Mission. The newspaper *sahifa* took a leading part in collecting these subscriptions.

Mr. Abdul Rahman Khan, ex-principal of the Osmania University Medical College in his autobiography **My Life and Experiences** (at page 144) states that at this time he met the Turkish Counsel in Bombay, Khalil Bey, who referred enthusiastically to the help given by Mulla Abdul Basith of Hyderabad.

In the year 1915, Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya died. He had retired from the Nizam College in 1907. His death removed a very strong figure from the public life of Hyderabad. Ever since he came to Hyderabad in 1878 he was connected with all intellectual, social and political activities of the State. He drew round him scholars, politicians, literary writers and social reformers and inspired them to work with zeal in their respective fields. The contribution of Dr. Aghornath to the public awakening in Hyderabad is without a parallel. The note on the life of this great man sent by his daughter Smt. Mrinalini Chattopadhyaya is reproduced below:—

"Outstanding among the earliest pioneer fighters in the Indian struggle for freedom from foreign domination, stands the revered name of the Scientist-Philosopher-Scholar Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya, the father of the fight for freedom in the Nizam's Dominions."

Dr. Aghornath was the first Indian student to obtain the Doctorate of Science (D.Sc.) of a foreign University, having studied both in the Scottish University of Edinburgh and the German University of Bonn. He went abroad on a Gilchrist Scholarship and won further distinctions there as Baxter Physical Science Scholar and Hope Prizeman. To none of these awards, however, did he attach as much importance as to the Degree of Vidyaratna (Shivaganga) bestowed on him, years later, by Jagadguru Sankaracharya, for his great Sanskrit learning. (It is interesting to note here that he also knew French, German and Russian.)

When the great statesman Salar Jung I, of Hyderabad, visited England in about 1877, he looked around for a young Indian of ability to take charge of Education in Hyderabad, and to introduce English education into the State. The name of Dr. Aghornath was suggested to him as being just the man, and Sir Salar Jung, on his return to Hyderabad, extended an invitation to him, which he accepted. Meanwhile, Dr. Aghornath had returned to Bengal, his home, where the first great social reformer of Bengal, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, had initiated a powerful movement for the eradication of all social evils, in particular, for breaking the fetters of caste and orthodoxy, then rampant in Bengal. Young Bengalis, returning from across the seas, were ostracised by their families and were consequently forced to enter the Christian fold, where they were welcomed. Raja Ram Mohan Roy's movement was to perpetuate Hinduism on a broad basis. Dr. Aghornath, along with other enlightened young Bengalis, plunged into this struggle and played an active role in it.

Fresh from this fight, and full of enthusiasm, Dr. Aghornath arrived in Hyderabad about 1878, eager to tackle the problem of the educational needs of Hyderabad.

Almost immediately, a school was established, where English was made the medium of instruction, according to the wishes of Sir Salar Jung. Soon after, a College, called the "Hyderabad College" was founded and affiliated to the Madras University. Dr. Aghornath was its founder-Principal. This college is still in existence, renamed "Nizam College".

Dr. Aghornath soon turned his attention to the education of girls and with the untiring help and efforts of his

wife, Shrimathi Varada Sundari Devi, and a couple of other enlightened women, opened a school for girls, the first of its kind, in Nampalli. It is this small beginning that has now developed into the present well-established College for Women, affiliated to the Osmania University. Other girls' schools sprang up rapidly and became very popular.

Dr. Aghornath stressed the urgent need for the emancipation of our women, who were then deplorably backward. The intelligent co-operation of men and women, he said, was the only way to achieve success in any sphere of work in the service of the country. He further strongly advocated the economic independence of women. He preached against 'Child marriage' and was greatly in favour of 'Widow Marriage'. Public lectures on these topics were delivered by him from time to time.

The new 'Hyderabad College' was flooded with young men from the Christian Missionary Schools, which taught through the medium of English. Even after College hours, students flocked to the home of Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya, to sit at his feet and gain the full benefit of his learning and wisdom. Besides students, persons from various other walks of life, young and old, men and women, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Parsees, rich and poor, gathered every day in what began to be called the "Durbar of Dr. Aghornath". Here the seeds of friendship and brotherhood were sown and all distinction of caste, creed and religion completely disappeared. Dr. Aghornath and Shrimati Varada Sundari Devi kept an open house and extended their hospitality to all, without distinction.

The atmosphere in the State was soon charged with partrotic fervour, resulting in the formation of an association called the *Anjuman-e-Ikwan-us-Safa* (The Brotherhood Society) which met regularly, to discuss ways and means of tackling the social and political problems of the country. Among the members of this Society were men of learning and status.

About this period, the Nizam's Guaranteed State Railway Company were making arrangements to extend the line in Berar, known as the "Chanda Railway Project", for which the Company decided to float a loan in London. As public feeling was against a foreign loan, this Society organized a meeting, with Dr. Aghornath as its chairman. At this meeting, which was largely attended a resolution was

unanimously passed, urging the Government not to countenance a *foreign* loan but to raise the money *locally*. This resolution was submitted to the Government. High officials of the Government, whose interests would suffer if the resolutions were considered favourably, disapproved of it strongly. They held Dr. Aghornath responsible for this and set up an intrigue against him. His patriotic activities were brought to the notice of the British Resident, as being 'Anti-British' and they urged that he be deported. As a result of this, Dr. Aghornath was served with a Warrant of Arrest on the 19th of May 1883 and deported to Calcutta. His case was represented there to the Viceroy, who seeing that injustice was done, had the orders of deportation revoked. Dr. Aghornath was asked to return to Hyderabad and the British Resident was recalled. The bureaucracy in Hyderabad, however, was still against him, so victimisation continued. For six long years, Dr. Aghornath was not reinstated in his college, during which period his family suffered great privations. Finally, when he was approached, the offer made to him was not that of Principal, but the Head of the Science Department. It was only, on the repeated entreaties of his friends and well-wishers, that he was persuaded to accept this position.

The Science Department was badly equipped, but all the Doctor's many schemes for a modern and up-to-date laboratory, were deliberately ignored by the Government with a view to discredit him, remove him, and to replace him by an Englishman. In this, they succeeded; for when the Madras University Commission of Inspection came round, they found an obviously ill-equipped department. As a result, Dr. Aghornath was retired on proportionate pension.

Nothing daunted this remarkable man. He carried on, with greater zeal than ever, his work in every aspect of the nation's struggle for freedom. His optimism, his cheerfulness and his keen sense of humour never failed him.

Though an orthodox Bangali Brahmin by birth, his entire domestic staff was drawn from among the so-called depressed classes and to educate the adults and children of this community evening classes were held in his house. It was a great day when some of them rose to high official positions in the State.

To facilitate 'Inter-caste Marriages', Dr. Aghornath moved the Government and introduced the Special Marriage Act of 1872, already in vogue in British India. Some of his students and his own children took advantage of this Act.

Active interest was taken by those who came under his influence in arranging lectures to encourage 'Widow Marriage', and demanding the abolition of 'Child Marriage'. These lectures were held at the Young Men's Improvement Society (founded in 1879) of which Dr. Aghornath was an early life-member and Vice-President for ten years.

The national consciousness and the mind of the public of Hyderabad were now so alive to the problems facing the country as a whole, that when in 1905, Bengal rose as one man to protest against the partition of Bengal, a mammoth meeting was organized by the Hyderabad public, in sympathy with Bengal.

Dr. Aghornath continued his educational work side by side with this social and political activities. Student-teachers were trained to give demonstration lessons in their special subjects to classes which were well attended. Laboratories were set up in the compound of his house for experiments in Science.

Though Dr. Aghornath was definite that the study of the English language was necessary and most important, he encouraged his students to practise their lessons in the mother-tongue.

Great educationist that he undoubtedly was, he realised that the child has to receive its first instruction at the feet of the mother and, consequently, the mother-tongue had to be given the first place.

To propagate this idea of instruction through the mother-tongue, Dr. Aghornath worked towards establishing at first an examining body called the 'Anjuman-i-Maoyar-ul-uloom.' Examinations were held in all College subjects and papers were set in Urdu, as this was the State Language. Students from all over India, with Urdu as mother-tongue, appeared for these examinations and successful candidates were awarded certificates which proved useful to them in obtaining posts.

Unfortunately, for want of funds and lack of Government support, this venture was short-lived, though the seeds were sown for 'instruction through the mother-tongue'.

Many years later, the Osmania University was established on the basis of the same principle.

Dr. Aghornath, however, held that ultimately *Hindi* should be the national language.

On the cultural side, his home regularly welcomed musicians from North and South. Poets artists, dramatists, etc., found a patron in Dr. Aghornath, (both he and Shrimati Varada Sundari were Bengali poets). The Annual All-India Sanskrit Conferences were often held in the big compound of his house in Nizamshahi Road and were attended by learned Pandits.

With his cosmic mind, this great man sought to tackle every problem that helped in the struggle for freedom. The country, to be self-sufficient, he said, must produce its own cloth—workers were sent out to the villages to give an impetus to the Swadeshi Movement,—particularly *Khadi*, and to revive the dyeing silk industry.

His was no narrow nationalism. Young men, French, German, Armenian, African, Burmese, stayed and studied in his house for months together. There was no European scholar, who passed through Hyderabad, who did not visit this learned man. Universal brotherhood was the goal he set out to achieve.

In such a home were his children born, and with so unique a background. Sarojini was his eldest daughter. Her name is byword in every household, for she lived and died, faithfully serving her country to the last.

The fearless revolutionary, Virendranath, was his eldest son. Founder of 'The League Against Imperialism' in Germany, he worked unceasingly for the overthrow of imperialism. He inculcated in thousands of young Indians abroad the spirit of fight against the foreign domination of India. Hounded by British Imperialists, an exile from home, Virendranath, in spite of great hardships, kept the flag flying, till his death in 1942.

His youngest son Harindranath has earned great fame as a poet—playwright. His powerful national and revolutionary songs in Hindi and his social and political plays in English have, for the past thirty and more, inspired the youths of the country and exercised an abiding influence on them.

All his other children have devoted their lives to educational, social, cultural and political activities and with the advent of Independence, every member of his family—children and grand-children, are today contributing in his or her own sphere of activity, towards the stupendous task of nation-building.”

THE FIRST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE AND FURTHER PROGRESS IN EDUCATION.

Mohammed Murtuza's efforts in the cause of education at last bore fruit and the First Hyderabad Educational Conference was held early in 1915. A contemporary account of the circumstances leading to this Conference is given below:—

“Early in 1915 a band of young graduates and enthusiasts of the Dar-ul-Ulum Oriental College (most active among whom were Maulvis Mohammad Murtaza, Abdul Basit of Turkish Relief Fund fame, Mir Akbar Ali, editor and proprietor of the local Urdu Daily *Sahifa* and Mirza Mohammed Beg, Tahsildar, Revenue Department), with the co-operation of a number of energetic men in the educational and public service, had organised a bold scheme, under the designation of the Hyderabad Educational Conference with a view to supplement the efforts of the Government Educational Department to relieve the hardships of needy scholars, and spread education throughout the length and breadth of the Dominions. They took the intelligentsia of Hyderabad fully into their confidence. I was also invited to take part in this activity and I did so whole-heartedly. One of the most important objects of the Conference was to provide ends and means for imparting higher education in Arts, Science and Technical subjects through Urdu, the Court and popular language of the Dominions. Maulvi Mohammad Murtuza's untiring devotion won for him the Secretaryship of the Conference. Mr. Akbar Nazar Ali Hydari was approached and he gladly entered into the spirit

of the movement. On 1st March 1915 the Conference held its first general meeting at the Town Hall. Mr. Hydari read his Presidential address in Urdu, giving expression to the feelings and wishes of the educated public of Hyderabad and suggesting useful methods of realising the objects aimed at. It was enthusiastically approved by the public in general. The resolutions passed by the Conference carried great weight and won the support of the teachers and the taught and paved the way for the foundation of the Osmania University in due course. My speech on the importance of Science in modern education came off on the following day."

The Educational conference held its second session in 1916 at Aurangabad, in 1917 at Hyderabad and also in 1918 at Hyderabad and in 1919 at Latur. The conference did much work in spreading education and in pressing for the establishment of a University and provide scholarships to the poor and needy students. It also drew the attention of the scholars towards the need for publishing scientific literature in the Indian languages.

It was as a result of the activities of the educational conference that the establishment of the Osmania University was taken up by the Government. After the first public meeting of the Hyderabad Educational Conference, Mr. Akbar Hydari, then the Home Secretary, submitted a memorandum to the Nizam for the creation of a University in Hyderabad on modern lines making Urdu the medium of instruction and English, a compulsory second language. The Nizam sanctioned the scheme in 1918 through a Firman which constituted its charter.

On 4th November 1917, a Sub-committee of local educationists was held to frame the syllabus of studies for the University under contemplation.

In March 1918, a Technical Terms Committee and a Translation Bureau had in the meanwhile started the work of translating important documents in Urdu. The First Matriculation Examination of the Osmania University was held in 1919. The University was inaugurated on 28th August 1919 in a rented building. The University was transferred to the permanent building constructed at Adigmet in 1934.

Thus the efforts of the educationists like Mr. Murtuza who were all along working for the establishment of a University were crowned with success.

Since its inception in 1919 the Osmania University has played a very important role in the political awakening of the State. Urdu was introduced in this University as the medium of instruction. These circumstances gave rise to the demand for the introduction of the regional languages in the educational system of the State.

CHAPTER XIV

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

It has been remarked above that Sri Keshav Rao Koratkar and Sri Waman Naik were during this period taking a prominent part in the public activities of the State. In the plague epidemic which became a recurring feature in Hyderabad in those days, the social services of these two leaders and those of institutions like the Arya Samaj were very noticeable. They also used to take interest in the politics of the country and were regularly visiting the sessions of the All-India National Congress. Their connections with educational institutions like the Vivek Vardhini High School and libraries like the Marathi Grantha Sangrahalaya have been referred to in the previous chapters. Interest in the social evils began to be widespread among the enlightened people of the community during this period. In 1913 the 'Humanitarian League' was established with Rai Bal Mukund, a retired Judge of the High Court, as the President and Lalji Meghji and Ganesh Mul as the Secretary and the Joint Secretary. Rai Bal Munkund was the pioneer of reform work among the Harijans in those days. The Humanitarian League was also joined by Sri Bhagya Reddy Varma who belonged to the Scheduled Caste and later developed into a social reformer. It was in these circumstances that Sri Keshav Rao Koratkar and Sri Waman Naik conceived an idea of holding the Social Conferences under the auspices of the Hyderabad Social Service League which was established in the year 1915. Accordingly the First Social Conference was held at Kavanah in the district of Nanded in the year 1918 under the chairmanship of Sri Sadanand Maharaj. The Second Conference was held at Hudgaon in the Nanded district under the chairmanship of Sri Keshav Rao Koratkar in 1919. The third Conference was held at Nanded in the following year under the chairmanship of Sri Waman Naik. The conference passed a number of resolutions such as plea for extensive primary education, greater attention to female education, opening of libraries in every taluk and welfare measures for the depressed classes. These conferences succeeded in attracting the attention of both the Government and the educated classes to the need for measures for social reforms in the State.

To interest people in political reforms an association known as "The Hyderabad State Reforms Association" was established with Sri Keshav Rao Koratkar as the Vice-Chairman and Sri Raghavendra Rao Sharma as the Secretary. It was decided to hold a conference, under the auspices of the State Reforms Association in 1918 but this could not be done in view of Government refusal. The aims of the Hyderabad State Reforms Association were to bring out a political awakening in the State and fight for the political rights of the people.

It was during this period that journals began to appear in Telugu and Marathi. The *Nilgiri Patrika* issued from Nalgonda and *Telugu Patrika* issued from the district of Warangal belonged to this period and they marked the beginning of Telugu journalism in Hyderabad. The Marathi weekly *The Nizam Vijaya* appeared in 1920 and during the last three decades has contributed greatly to the growth of public opinion in the State.

The Congress Movement which was gaining ground in the rest of the country had its effect in Hyderabad as well. A Congress Committee was formed in Hyderabad with Sri Waman Naik as the President in 1918. The Montague-Chelmsford Report published in 1918 was the subject of strong criticism throughout country.

The subsequent events like the Rowlatt Acts and the Jalianwala Bagh tragedy created a profound effect throughout the country. Added to this was the Khilafat Agitation. Hyderabad too witnessed the effects of the Congress Movement and the Khilafat struggle. A reference will be made to these in the following chapter.

In 1919 the administration in Hyderabad underwent a structural change. On 17th November 1919, the old Cabinet Council was dissolved and the administration of the State was entrusted by the Nizam to an Executive Council with a President. The nature of the change will be apparent from the inaugural speech made by the Nizam on that day instituting the Executive Council:—

"This Durbar has been convened to mark an event of very great moment in the history of my Dominions. As you are all probably aware the original form of Government in this country was a pure autocracy assisted by a Prime Minister. It is a matter of history, how, with a few

honourable exceptions, the Prime Ministers of the past steadily pursued the policy of undermining the authority of the Nizams under whom they served and to whom they owed allegiance as subjects and servants. The State Archives are replete with evidence of such transgressions resulting in friction and the destruction of administrative efficiency so largely detrimental to the public weal. The passion to grasp at power, however unlawful and unconstitutional, dried up the sources of initiative and reform.

“Successive Ministries disclosed the imperfections of the system. My father, long after the death of the First Salar Jung, having given his reorganisation of the administration a full and fair trial, was deeply impressed by the defects present in it and was impelled in 1892 to promulgate the ‘Qanuncha Mabarik’ defining thereby the powers and responsibilities of the Prime Minister and his Assistants. A further attempt at efficiency was made by the issue of the “Rules of the Qanuncha”.

“Soon after my accession, my own scrutiny and examination of the administrative problems of my Dominions convinced me that the defects were ineradicable unless and until there was a structural change in the Government. After anxious and mature consideration, I decided to take up the heavy burden of direct administrative charge without the help of a Prime Minister. For five long years I have toiled hard and ever kept in view the measures that promised to secure the happiness and prosperity of my beloved subjects in whose contentment and advancement my interest is paternal and abiding. Close and personal association with the administration had revealed to me the necessity of another departure from the existing method. Change of time, complexities of modern life, new political perceptions in the East and the internal and external interests of my Dominions have put such a severe strain upon personal and direct control as to call for some immediate measure of appreciable relief. Finding it impossible to revert to a system whose repeated breakdown had proved its futility, I resolved after much reflection to give my Government a new constitution which would secure greater efficiency and ensure progressive force. Experiment elsewhere has proved that a Council form of Government has many and varied advantages over Government vested in a single official however eminent. It is my earnest desire, therefore, to secure these advantages for the well-being of my people.

“With this end in view I have by a Firman issued to-day, constituted an Executive Council, consisting of a President, Seven Ordinary Members and an Extraordinary Member without portfolio. Under well considered rules the powers of the Council, its President and the Members have been defined and their collective and individual responsibilities fixed. Its personnel has been determined with the greatest possible care. It includes men of mature experience and approved merit. The President, Sir Ali Imam, needs no introduction. His career in British India is very well known. A Council so constituted will strengthen the administration in all its branches and offer sound advice on those matters affecting the larger interests of the State that have been specifically reserved for the exercise of my own powers. Its corporate action will give administrative cohesion and yield results highly beneficial to my people. The spread of education, the development of economic resources, the encouragement of commercial and industrial enterprise, the adoption of advanced sanitary and hygienic measures, the improvement of roads and communications and many other measures await solution.

“In these and other directions of internal reform the labours of the Council will be of inestimable value, no less than in matters of general policy and the political relations of my Government with the Government of India. These are as friendly and cordial as in the past. Ever since the dawn of British rule in India, an unbroken record of alliance and friendship with my house has been maintained. In more than one crisis the sword of an Asaf Jah has been drawn in the defence of the honour and integrity of the British Empire. My own contributions to win the world-wide war from which the British Empire has so triumphantly emerged are too well known for me to dwell upon. The Council will, therefore, find itself in a happy position to approach the all-important question of the restoration of the Berar. My claim to the possession of this integral part of my Dominions is based on absolute justice and it is inconceivable that on an impartial examination it can be ruled out. I shall, therefore, await the advice of the Council on this momentous question with deep interest.

“To my Nobles, Officials, Jageerdars and my beloved subjects generally I commended this new Constitution and earnestly call upon them to support it with unfaltering devotion and loyal co-operation. No constitution can fulfil its functions without strict and zealous regard to its observance.

“With these words, I wish Sir Ali Imam and his colleagues every success in the discharge of the great duties upon which they now enter.”¹

About the reforms of the Legislative Council, the Nizam issued a Firman on 5th February 1920 (14th Jamadi-ul-Awwal 1338 H.). The Firman is as follows:—

“Through the Firman of 22nd Safar 1338 H. (16th November 1919) we established an Executive Council with a view to make the administration of the State more efficient. Through the same Firman it had been stated that the Legislative Council will continue to work under the existing rules until they should be modified. Of the reforms which my revered father had achieved in the State, the establishment of a Legislative Council was an important one. Since the Legislative Council came into existence some minor reforms have been introduced in it, but they are not suitable to the changed circumstances, nor are they of a nature which would achieve the aspirations of our dear subjects and take them on the path of progress. It is hoped that the constitution given to the Executive Council will result in an efficient administration. A good beginning has been made and from the present working of the administration, the correctness of measures taken by us would be apparent. In the further reforms to be undertaken we have thought of a plan to enquire how best the sphere of the Executive Council could be expanded and how healthy development of the Legislative Council could take place so as to make it more useful. For this purpose we did instruct the President of the Executive Council Sir Ali Imam through this Firman to collect information as early as possible to enable further measures to be taken. Keeping in view the social and educational progress achieved by the people, the enquiry should take into consideration the following:—

1. The number of franchise on an expanded scale.
2. Direct voting system.
3. Elections from the Upper Classes.
4. Protection of the rights of the minorities.
5. Qualifications for voting.
6. Nomination of officials.
7. Powers and functions.

1. A History of the Administrative Reforms in the Hyderabad State by M. Fathulla Khan, pp. 91—95.

Through this Firman the President of the Legislative Council is authorised to appoint an Enquiry Committee. This Committee should make enquiries on the above lines and submit its report on how best to achieve the above aims to the Executive Council. The necessary orders will be passed after the Executive Council submits its opinion on the report."

As instructed in the Firman, the President of the Executive Council appointed Rai Bal Mukund, an ex-Judge of the High Court, for this purpose to enquire and report. The report was submitted by Rai Bal Mukund after enquiry after 1½ years, but no action was taken on the report.

While the administrative structure of the State was undergoing a change, the attention of the State was diverted to the Khilafat Agitation and the Congress Movement which were sweeping over the country at this time. Hyderabad too took a prominent part in the movement. Awakening in the Hyderabad-Karnatak districts also started when Pandit Taranath, a teacher in Raichur High School left service and started "the Hamdard High School" at Raichur in 1920. The activities of Taranath in the field of educational and social reforms will be described in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XV

PANDIT TARANATH AND THE AWAKENING IN THE KARNATAK DISTRICTS.

Pandit Taranath was born in Mangalore on 5th January 1891. He came to Hyderabad in the year 1908. After completing two years in the Nizam College, he studied for some time in the Hyderabad Medical School. He organized the students in that institution and soon made a name for himself as an organiser and a brilliant literary writer. After leaving the Medical School he joined Government service as a teacher and was posted to the Bidar High School. He made a deep impression on the people of his bold outlook and fighting against injustice and oppression. When he was transferred from Bidar to Raichur in 1916, he created an awakening in Raichur by gathering round him a band of workers. He left Government service in the year 1919 and founded a Private High School at Raichur known as "the Hamdard High School." Pandit Taranath is responsible for a great awakening which came over the Hyderabad-Karnatak districts at this time. The Hamdard High School which he founded in March 1920 is today one of the most flourishing institutions in the State and has developed into a College. It became a breeding ground for the nationalist workers in the Karnatak district. Pandit Taranath stood against injustice and oppression in whatever form he found them and wrote boldly against the administration of the day.

The Official Report dated 22nd May 1921 describing the activities of Taranath has the following to say about him:—

"Confidential.

No. 1171.

From

Mohammad Ali, Esq., H.C.S.,

Inspector-General of Police and Jails,

H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions,

Hyderabad-Deccan.

To

The Secretary to Government,
Judicial, Police and General Departments,
H. E. H. the Nizam's Government,
Hyderabad-Deccan.

Dated, Hyderabad 22nd May, 1921.

Sir,

In reply to your letter No. 167, dated 30th Khurdad 1330 Fasli, I have the honour to state that the facts of the case are that in the beginning of the month of January last anonymous threatening letters were received through British Post by H.E.H. the Nizam and the Honourable the Resident. Proceedings for finding out the writer of these letters were in progress. Eventually confidential enquiries brought to light that these letters had been written by some of the medical students of the local medical school at the instigation of their evil advisers, and that Taranath had a good deal to do with these letters. This Taranath had been instrumental in getting published a number of articles in *The Hindu* newspaper against our Government. He has been a resident of Raichur for a long time. His ideas have always been inimical to the British as well as to H.E.H. the Nizam's Government. When one of his accomplices Rajah Bahadur by name was arrested for writing one of such mischievous articles in *The Hindu* paper in October last, the hatred which Taranath bore to our Government was further aggravated. This youth Rajah Bahadur was arrested and brought to Hyderabad on the 9th December, and was sent to Mannanoor on the 30th December last, and his internment actually took place on the 3rd January 1921. Just about this time or perhaps a few days prior to this incident, Taranath had visited Hyderabad and gone back, and after Rajah Bahadur's internment Taranath left these dominions and has gone across the border and has never since returned.

The first threatening letter that was addressed to H.E.H. the Nizam bears the date the 3rd of January 1921, the actual date of Rajah Bahadur's internment and it was these circumstances that led us strongly to suspect Taranath and

his associates in Hyderabad to be directly or indirectly concerned with these letters. It was found that his associates in Hyderabad were:

1. K. Raghavendra Rao,
1. Viswanatham *alias* Visham,
3. Ramanath Rao and
4. Paisely.

Of the above, the first three are medical students from Mangalore, and the last named has no ostensible means of subsistence but he is also from Mangalore side. Subsequently their movements were secretly watched, and when suspicion against them got stronger and stronger their handwritings were obtained. These writings were compared with the writings in the anonymous letters and the result was that the handwriting of K. Raghavendrao appeared to be identical with these writings. For a further verification these were sent to Mr. Brewster, Government of India Examiner of Questioned Documents, Simla. The Expert, through his letter No. P. 226, dated 16th April 1921, has given a clear definite opinion that the anonymous letters, 1 to 9 are conclusively in the handwriting of the writer of documents marked K, L and M, and it is admitted that these documents, viz., K, L and M are in the handwriting of K. Raghavendra Rao. I herein enclose a copy of the letter received from the Government Examiner of Questioned Documents. On receipt of this opinion it evidently became necessary that enquiries should be made from K. Raghavendra Rao and the case completed. In this connection Dr. Curtain was approached and on his summoning Raghavendra Rao he was told that I wanted to see him, he expressed his willingness to go and see me. In fact he said he himself wanted to see the Inspector-General of Police. On his coming to me I had a conversation with him in this matter. His behaviour and his evasive replies only went to confirm my suspicions against him and his arrest looked reasonable. The facts having been placed before the joint Magistrate, Atrai-i-Balda, a warrant of arrest too was issued, and Raghavendra Rao was subsequently arrested. He was later on placed before the Magistrate and a remand of 15 days was obtained for the completion of the enquiry. As the Residency courts refused to issue a warrant for the search of his house and that of his associates, the only hope of obtaining incriminating

evidence was lost. Raghavendra Rao was comfortably lodged in a decent room in the Headquarters of my office, and in the course of investigation after his brother from Madras had been permitted to see him he i.e., Raghavendra Rao divulged that although he himself was not the writer of these threatening letters, he knew who the author was; information with regard to which had been given to him by Paisely—the person whose name appears last in the list of Taranath's associates above mentioned.

3. Investigations had proceeded so far, when orders for his release were received. He was accordingly released on his own recognizance. Now as he is released, it is feared that the desired result could not be produced. After his release Raghavendra Rao gave me a piece of writing, a copy of which is herewith enclosed, which clearly shows that the suspicions against him were not at all unfounded, and his arrest was quite right, based on reasonable suspicion.

4. Taking into consideration all the circumstances of the case, I have reason to say that Raghavendra Rao and his associates were the sole authors of these threatening letters. If only a house search had been permitted and his custody continued just a little time more, I am fully confident the whole facts of the case would have clearly come out, and would have been fully established. I shall shortly submit a report on the subject for further orders.

I have the honour to be,
Sir

Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.)

Inspector-General of Police and Jails. ”

Taranath left Raichur in 1921 but established himself just a few miles away across the river Tungabhadra where he founded his “Premayatana” Ashram. He profoundly influenced literary and cultural movements in Karnatak through his literary writings. His Ashram was a great social centre engaged in the work of healing the sick, and the wounded and running welfare schemes for the people.

A brief note on Pandit Taranath and his activities sent by his friend Sri D. Manik Rao, pleader, Raichur, is given below:—

“ 1. He was born in the year 1891 on 5th January, in Mangalore.

2. He had his early education in Mangalore and joined the Nizam College thereafter. Completed two years of study in the college and joined the Medical school at Hyderabad. Left the Medical School when the authorities overlooked his claim for a foreign scholarship.

3. He joined the Educational Department as a teacher at Bidar in the year 1910 or so. He was appointed solely to introduce science teaching in the High School classes. The Director of Public Instruction then was *Shri Alma Latccf*.

4. After serving in Bidar for about 4 years, he came as a first asst. to the Government Middle School, Raichur, in the year 1916 or so.

5. Left the Government service at the end of 1919 and founded the Hamdarad High School at Raichur in March 1920.

6. Wrote an article in the Hindu on *H.E.H. the Nizam* under the heading *Indian Dyer*. It was published in the name of his student Shri Raja Bahadur. The Government kept Shri Raja Bahadur in Mannanur Jail under detention and externed Pandit Taranath from the State.

7. Opened *Premayataha Ashrama* in Tungabhadra in the year 1921 or so.

8. In 1920, after he started the school, the top Congress leaders, Mahatma Gandhi and Maulana Shaukat Ali wanted him to lead the congress politics in Hyderabad Sind. He refused the offer on the plea that Hyderabad Deccan needed his services to rouse the people and make them freedom-conscious. In the same year Maulana Shaukat Ali went to Madras in connection with the Khilafat Agitation. Panditji gave him a grand reception at the Raichur Railway station. The Maulana was not allowed to enter the town. Seeing Panditji's strong faith in Hindu-Muslim Unity and his capacity to mobilise Muslim opinion, the Maulana requested him to follow him to Madras and do Khilafat Agitation. The Maulana and Panditji stayed in Madras for a week and Panditji's activities highly appreciated.

9. At Madras Panditji came in contact with the great revolutionary, Shri V. V. S. Ayer. Collaborated with him in unearthing the motives behind the Great Mutiny and elaborating the Freedom motives in the Indian Renaissance.

Thereafter V. V. S. Ayer was often a visitor to Premayatana.

10. From 1921 onwards Panditji's field of activities were Karnataka and some parts of Tamilnad. Panditji took seriously to Cultural Renaissance in the Karnatak area. He was a firm believer in Social Revolution. All his activities were directed towards that end. He started a Magazine in English and Kanarese entitled "Prema" and through it he propagated his ideas and brought about a great awakening in these parts of the country. When Shri Diwaker (the Governor of Bihar) started his weekly *Nava Shakti* it had the blessings of Taranath and through its columns his inspiring messages were delivered.

11. Panditji was respected by almost all the political leaders for his revolutionary and progressive views and his capacity to rouse the people and his fearless advocacy of the cause of the downtrodden. Panditji was a pioneer in the field of Harijan reclamation. He was a pioneer in his campaign against caste restrictions. He suffered social calumny for his views. He was a great worker for achieving equality for women. He was the pioneer of a new education which later on has assumed the name of Nai Talim.

12. Panditji did pioneering work for Hindu-Muslim Unity in the State. The Muslims had an immense faith in him. Pulpits in the mosques were open for him and thousands gathered to hear his sermons. This popularity with the Muslim masses was not liked by the Government and they were watching his activities with resentment.

13. Panditji was almost a charter for students' rights and freedom. Wherever he worked in Schools the students learnt the value of self-reliance and truth. He was the first in the State who taught the students the value of the weapon of Strikes and how to act collectively.

14. Panditji had a great faith in the spiritual values of life. To that end he tried to impart religious education wherever possible.

15. Panditji was a great artist. He infused a new spirit and a new style in Kanarese literature. It may be said that he pioneered new perspectives in Kanarese Literature.

16. Mahatma Gandhi was highly interested in Panditji's naturopathy and his Yogic cures.

When we look back to the year 1920 and a few years preceding it, we conclude that they were years of crisis in our Freedom Struggle. The British Bureaucracy and through it the Native States had become conscious that India was going to achieve freedom. Indians thereafter were not merely petitioning but were acting with all the consciousness that Swaraj was their birth-right. In those days the fighters for liberty had to face the combined repressive might of the British and the Native Rulers. They had to keep afresh the ideological approach and lead the movement too. The Mahatma's piloting of the movement called forth the severest discipline in the worker. And in those years the Nizam's State was almost a sealed book. The Nizam, under the cloak of exalted loyalty to the imperial power, carried out a series of measures to undo the people's nerves. Subtly any movement for freedom was coloured communal, because invariably it was led by a Hindu. When there was a terrorist outburst in Maharashtra he deported almost all Maharashtrians who were in his educational service and had come from outside. The leaders were not allowed to enter the State. There was no freedom to meet. Under such circumstances Panditji started his struggle for peoples 'Freedom'.

Before we come to the factual side of his campaign, we have to understand his mental back-ground. He was a firm believer in Indian Renaissance as was visualised by Swami Vivekananda. He had great faith in the vital roots of Vivekananda. He had great faith in the vital roots of the Indian Culture. He believed in wielding the weapon of social revolution. He was a great humanist with a highly virile cosmopolitan outlook.

Panditji's fight for Freedom starts somewhere in the year 1916 or so. As a teacher, he instilled a new spirit into the student community. He made them conscious of their rights and taught them how to assert collectively. He brought in a new relation between the teacher and the taught. He fought for autonomy within the educational institutions. The secret reports about his service tenure in the educational department of the State will throw much light on his activities.

In or about the year 1918 or 1919, the Nizam started collecting 'Nazarana' from the people. Willy nilly, people were forced to present Ashrafis to His Highness. It was

almost a regular taxation. The poor began to feel the burden. The money was being forcibly collected. People could not protest for fear of being punished. Collections were being made through District and Taluka officers.

There were no movements or organisations in the State, which could agitate against these obnoxious methods. There was Jalianwalla Bag tragedy in the year 1919. Panditji was deeply touched. The Nizam's conduct was unbearable to him. He wrote an article 'the Indian Dyer' in The Hindu. It was signed by one of the students of Taranath, Raja Bahadur. The C.I.D. was set in motion. Raja Bahadur was deported to Mannanur. The Hindu was banned in the State. Taranath was exiled. Despite this repression, the article had its own effect. The Nizam had to stop the practice of taking Nazaranas. The Government version of these incidents may be found in the Home Office of the State. This was the first time that there was an agitation against the person of the Nizam. Panditji was the first to propagate the Khilafat movement in the State. The Muslim masses were drawn to him.

After externment Panditji was in touch with the States People's Conference and did much to disclose the happenings in the State. The externees like Raghavendra Rao Sharma and others were in touch with him and were planning agitation in consultation with him. Panditji had contacts with leaders like Tilak, Gandhiji and Shaikat Ali. They were all impressed with his personality and highly humanistic outlook. His Ashram was a study ground for most of the political workers in the Karnatka. It is even said that in most of the cases, underground workers were in touch with him. The Government were suspecting that his Ashram was engaged in making bombs and in fact a search was made of his Ashram in the year 1942 or so. Panditji was a firm believer in Ahimsa, but since some of the revolutionaries like Shri V. V. S. Ayer were in contact with him he was suspected of violent activities. It is also said that Shri Diwakar wanted him to assume the leadership of the movement in 1942. In short Taranath was a great fighter for freedom. He called the Andhra Political Conference in Tungabhadra in the year——— and did much to rouse the Andhras to be conscious of their role in the body politic of the country.

Taranath had visualised definite progressive changes which are now being adopted in the country. He was a

great supporter of education through the mother-tongue of the boys. In fact he supported the founding of the Osmania University on the basis that it did a pioneering work in the field of a regional language. He was a pioneer in the State in advocating the introduction of a science syllabus in the High School curricula. He was a pioneer of Nai Talim in the State.

Taranath was a social revolutionary. He wanted a thorough change in the Social Outlook of the people. He did pioneering work for the eradication of Untouchability, women's rights and students' freedom. He was firmly convinced of the basic values of the Indian Culture and its place in World History. He believed that India's contribution to world progress had been appreciable in the past and the world needed it more. With this end in view he was in contact with some workers in France and America and in fact he had an invitation from New York in the year 1933 or so.

Taranath was a great orator, a thinker of a high order and highly advanced in the spiritual aspect of life. His entry in politics was one aspect or a phase of his outlook on life. The value of his contribution lies in the fact that when the people in the State could not dream of Freedom openly, Taranath exposed the slave-running tendency of the Nizam and told the people in unmistakable terms to be up and rising."

Thus through the efforts of Pandit Taranath, a great awakening came over the Hyderabad-Karnatak districts.

CHAPTER XVI

THE KHILAFAT MOVEMENT AND CONCLUSION.

In the year 1920 the Khilafat Movement spread throughout the country. It received unstinted support and co-operation from the Indian National Congress. During the Great War of 1914 Mr. Lloyd George had promised that Turkey would not be deprived of the lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which were predominantly Turkish in race. These pledges and promises were broken at the end of the war. The Muslim contention that Mesopotamia, Arabia, Syria and Palestine must remain under the direct suzerainty of the Khalif was not heeded. The great powers took over parts like Syria, Iran and Palestine as mandates. This action enraged the Muslim population as also the other communities in India. At Amritsar, the leading Congress and Khilafat leaders discussed the situation arising out of the betrayal by Lloyd George and decided to organise a Khilafat agitation under the able guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. A deputation of prominent leaders headed by Dr. Ansari waited upon the Viceroy on 19th January 1920 to impress upon him the necessity for the preservation of the Turkish Empire and the sovereignty of the Sultan as Khalifa. The Viceroy's reply to the deputationists was disappointing. The 3rd Khilafat Conference met at Bombay in February 1920 and laid down the Muslim demands for the preservation of the Turkish Empire and the sovereignty of the Sultan. A deputation led by Maulana Mohamed Ali left for England in 1920. The reply of Lloyd George to the deputationist on 17th March 1920 that Turkey would not be allowed to retain lands which were not Turkish struck at the basis of the Khilafat sentiment in India. The 19th March was fixed as a day of National Mourning. The Congress wholeheartedly supported the Khilafat Movement. Widespread demonstrations took place all over the country during the year 1920. Hyderabad was also affected by this movement profoundly.

On the 16th March 1920 a public meeting was held at the Vivek Vardhini High School in Hyderabad under the chairmanship of Barrister Mohamed Asghar which was attended by more than 15,000 persons. On the 19th March

a hartal was observed throughout the city as per secret directions given by the Khilafat Committee. On the 20th March another public meeting was held at the Vivek Vardhini High School attended by nearly 25,000 persons. All the communities participated in this meeting. On this Government issued orders prohibiting the Khilafat Movement without prior permission. On 23rd April 1920 another meeting was held where a fund was opened and considerable amounts were collected. This was also a joint gathering of Hindus and Muslims. On 5th May 1920 the Khilafat Committee of Hyderabad held a "Unity Day" under the chairmanship of Pandit Keshav Rao Koratkar where speeches stressing communal unity were made by prominent leaders.

On 14th May 1920 a public meeting was held at Vivek Vardhini High School under the chairmanship of Sri Waman Naik to thank the Muslims for their co-operation on the issue of Cow-slaughter. This meeting was also attended by large numbers of Hindus and Muslims. A further meeting under the auspices of the Khilafat Committee was held on 17th May attended by 10,000 persons. This was presided over by Maulana Abdul Hai.

While the agitation was very strong and meetings were being held under the auspices of the Khilafat Committee, the Government took strong action against some enthusiastic young men who were leading the agitation and who it was alleged had violated the Firman on holding public meetings. Action was taken against the following young men :—

1. Mohamed Abdur Rahman Rais, son of Gulam Dastagir,
2. Amir Ahmed, son of Shamsuddin Razvi,
3. Syed Ibrahim, son of Mohamed Sadiq,
4. Abdus Subhan, son of Abdus Salam, and
5. Ata Hussain, son of Mohamed Hussain Khan.

These persons were arrested and interned at Mannanur under the Firman of 30th May 1920. The following persons were deported outside the State :—

1. Mohamed Ismail Khan of Muradabad,
2. Nawab Ahmad of Muradabad,

3. Mohamed-ul-Huq of Sahranpur,
4. Abdul Aziz of Kada, U.P., and
5. Jamil Ahmad, pleader from outside the State.

After the excitement subsided the internees were released in the following year and permission was given to 3 out of the 5 persons deported to re-enter the State.

Thus the year 1920 was full of great commotion in the State as it was in other parts of the country. This year also marks the end of the second phase of the History of the Freedom Struggle in the country. The growth of the Congress Movement in Hyderabad, the rise of the Andhra Maha Sabha, the Maharashtra Parishad and the Karnatak Parishad started from the following year.

The second phase of the Freedom Struggle that is from 1885-1920 is a very important one in the history of Hyderabad. This period witnessed the growth of journalism and the strong reaction against British policies in India and the Middle-East. The establishment of the Arya Samaj, the Ganesh Utsav and the spread of the Swadeshi Movement followed by the establishment of the private educational institutions resulted in increased political consciousness in the State. On the educational side Mulla Abdul Qayum's plea for Compulsory Education, Mr. Murtuza's plea for the establishment of the University and the Educational Conferences of 1915 and 1916 resulted in the establishment of the Osmania University. The revolutionary activities also began during this period. Rao Saheb alias Baba Saheb's insurrection in Bhir in 1898-1899, Balakrishna Hari Chapekar's sojourn in the district of Raichur in 1898 and the establishment of secret societies in Aurangabad in 1909 leading to the murder of Mr. Jackson, the Collector of Nasik, created a strong reaction on the public mind in the State. The growth of communications in the State brought the other parts of the country in close touch with Hyderabad. The interest of Hyderabad in the affairs of the Middle-East was demonstrated by the Hejaz Railway Construction Fund Campaign for greater conveniences for the Haj pilgrims and later the activities of the Red Crescent Society helped the victims of the Balkan War. The Social Conferences sponsored by Sri Keshav Rao Koratkar and Sri Waman Naik paved the way for greater public interest in the political situation of the State. The establishment of

the Congress in Hyderabad in 1918 was an event of great importance. The Khilafat agitation which convulsed the State along with the rest of the country made public opinion more conscious of the need for the political progress of the State. The changes made by the Nizam in the administrative structure of the State and his Firman touching on the expansion of the Legislative Council raised hopes of a further measure of reforms in the minds of the public. The State Reforms Association established at the end of this period was the first public body which worked for the cause of reforms in the State. We now come to the end of the second phase of the Freedom Struggle. The Third phase beginning from 1921 and ending with 1948 will be the subject of a separate volume.

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